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AKWESASNE NOTES

WHERE THE PARTRIDGE DRUMS

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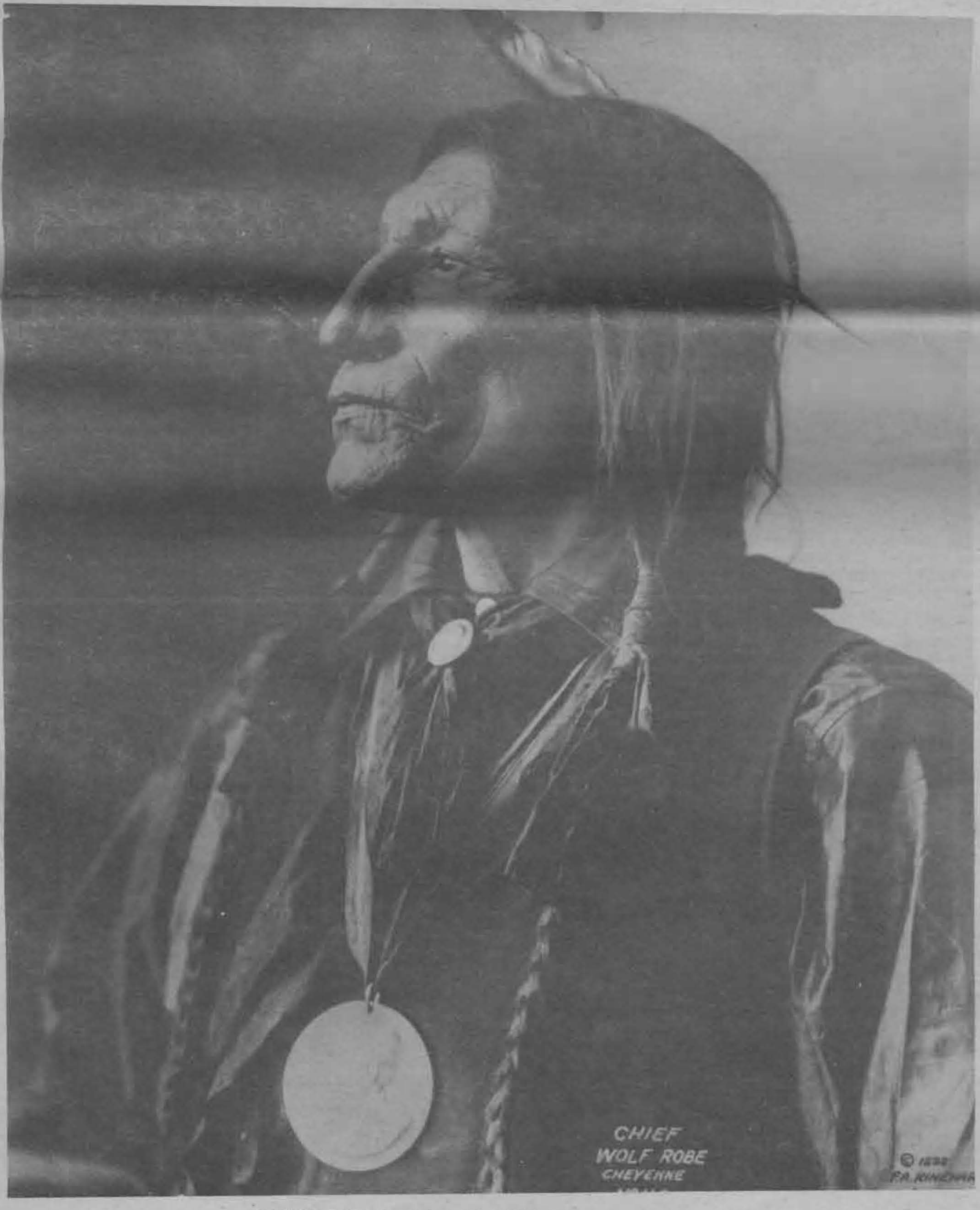
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A JOURNAL FOR NATIVE AND NATURAL PEOPLES

WINTER 1979 ISSUE

December, 1979

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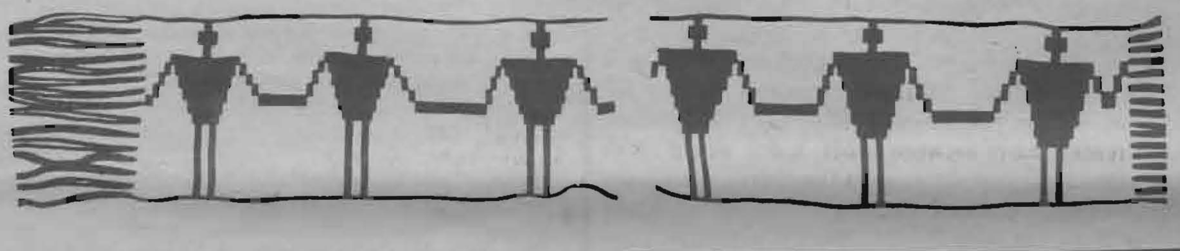

AKWESASNE NOTES

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The AKWESASNE NOTES People:

Diane, Eddie, Joyce, Kaientares, Segwalise, Katsi, Howie, Tsiorasa, Charlene, Forrest, Luciano, Carol, Jose, and John. And Charlie.

NEEDED FOR NOTES: A copy of Wallace Chafe's book on the Delaware Roundhouse Ceremonies, winter clothing of all sizes, seeds for Spring planting and your assistance in arranging speaking engagements for our Speaker's Bureau (518) 358–9531).

MONEY ISN'T EVERYTHING, BUT ... it helps to keep a newspaper going. Our costs are going up like everything else, but donations are not keeping pace with the cost increases. If you're one of those people who have been meaning to send us some money but just haven't gotten around to it, please, do it today so that we can keep producing this newspaper. Total costs of this issue will exceed $14,600.

A NEW WAY TO HELP NOTES

Your contributions to AKWESASNE NOTES can now be tax–deductible. The Youth Project of Washington, D.C., a public foundation under 501–C–3 of the Internal Revenue Code has agreed to take NOTES under its wing as a research and educational project.

If you would like to support these efforts and receive the benefit of a tax–deductible contribution your check should be made out to Akwesasne Notes/The Youth Project, and sent to us here at NOTES.

You will receive a letter of receipt that you can keep for your income tax records.

We still do not accept government funds, but we urge you to take advantage of this opportunity to help our message grow.

HOW IT IS WITH US

As editors of a newspaper, we are very lucky. Very often, we roll in here for our production time, each with some article or another tucked underarm, and after a few days of groaning, a newspaper begins to take shape.

AKWESASNE NOTES is not any particular person, probably it isn't even any particular group of persons – though there is a staff, and assigned work, and deadlines, and all the things necessary for production.

Let us say that AKWESASNE NOTES is an agreement--or better yet, a network of agreements. We are groups of people – organizations, individuals, families – who have come to understand that the survival of our species on this planet is very much at stake, that the balance of the Natural World is very percariously threatened, and who share in the understanding that the destruction of the Natural World signals our own destruction.

Probably, this is the bottom line of what binds us together--we percieve a threat to our very survival as Peoples.

In our communications work and in our organizing work, we always weigh our next move with that in mind: we want to continually offer evidence and analysis of those processes and people that would destroy us; we want to continually offer approaches and skills, analysis and predictions that will help communities prepare to meet that threat. (We say "community" with the understanding that the belonging and participating in a community is in itself a survival skill, probably the most fundamental one, and one which the processes that would destroy the Natural World would also inevitably destroy--for community is a Natural Way.)

This means a full identification and understanding of the corporate enemy, its history, its designs, its cultural extensions.

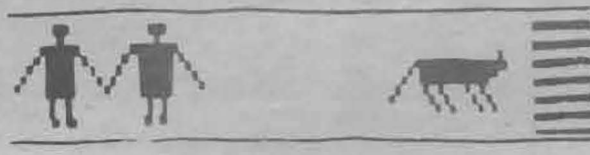
This also means the preservation and/or attainment of land-bases, the revitalization of regional Peoples' economies, and of education systems designed to impart skills which are self–contained, life–enhancing and community,binding. This means the preservation and revitalization of locally–specific, Natural World community cultures.

We would like to play a part in focusing the emerging humanistic movements toward these concerns. We would continually point out to these movements that it is the Native Peoples who are culturally and spiritually close to the Natural World, and thus, as Peoples, the first to be destroyed.

This is our mind-set; this is our goal. The interrelationship of all things is a reality to us, one that weaves its way through our minds and which invariably gives our newspaper a coherent feeling.

As editors, we are lucky; it makes our work easier.

That's how it is with us.



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AKWESASNE NOTES is proud to offer what is probably the finest line of authentic Native crafts available anywhere in North America. Of special interest is the line of hand crafted baskets made of black ash splints and sweet grass. Mohawk basket makers are world famous for their excellent craftsmanship and produce baskets of a quality unsurpassed at any price. These baskets are authentic products made for practical use and the pack baskets, especially, are light-weight, sturdy, and in every way superior to any of the back-pack apparatus made of canvas or aluminum. Other baskets which are available include corn washing baskets, storage baskets, and fancy ewing baskets. There are also kettle baskets, pin cushions, and strawberry baskets.

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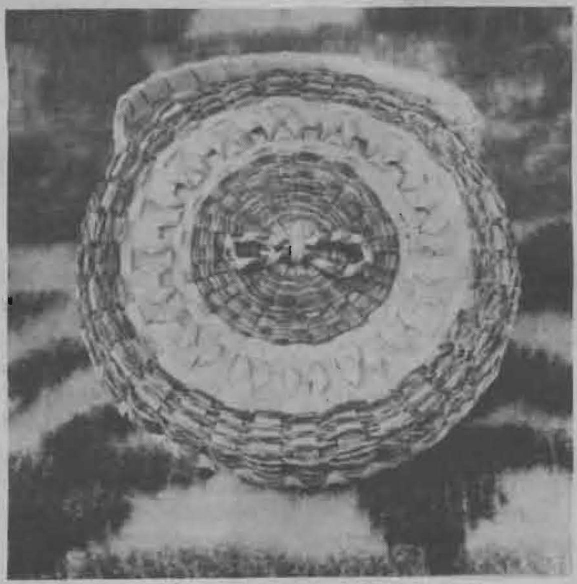

BACK ISSUES FOR $6

The entire set of available back issues of AKWESASNE NOTES is available at $6.00 per set. There are, as supplies hold, approximately twenty-four issues of the newspaper in each set.

Early issues of AKWESASNE NOTES are no longer in print, and our current stock is dwindling. Therefore, we make this offer to people who may have a need of this invaluable repository of information.

HOW TO SUBSCRIBE TO THIS NEWSPAPER

Just write to us, and we'll add your name to the mailing list. There is no fixed subscription price - but that does not mean the paper is free. Printing alone for this issue will cost over $6,000, and rising postage costs will come to about $4,000. And there are other expenses – typesetting equipment, typewriters, ribbons, paper supplies, etc., and that doesn't include costs for bare subsistence for our full-time volunteer staff. We are not funded by universities, governments, or even advertising.

Our money comes from our readers, most of it in small donations such as $1, $5, $10. Some people have lots of money, others have none – we ask people to do what they can. If you want the paper, we're glad to send it to you. If you want to help with the costs, we will appreciate that – your help will assist us in continuing our work.

Another issue will be ready for mailing as soon as funds for printing have accumulated.

THINKING ABOUT MOVING? JUST MOVED?

Let us know right away so we can change your address. If you are not at the address on our list, either the paper will be forwarded at a high cost to you, or it will be destroyed and NOTES will receive a notice for which we have to pay 25 cents. More than five percent of our readers move between issues, and it would mean more than $700 cost to us, plus the loss of more than 3,000 newspapers. Please be sure to send in your old address or an old address label when you send us your new address. That way, you won't be sent two copies, and neither you nor us will need to pay any extra postage.

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KEEP US STRONG!

According to our own estimates, AKWESASNE NOTES is read with interest by over 100,000 readers each issue, and probably reaches conservatively three or four times that number. NOTES is the largest and fastest growing Native newspaper in North America, and we believe that it may be the largest authentic Native publication in the Western world. We are active, and we are growing, we think, because we are serving a unique purpose – to bring to our readers an understanding and a vision of the world which has been all but forgotten by Western Man, and thus inevitably ignored by other publications.

To that end, our writers explore many aspects of concern of our times, from issues usually associated with ecology, to issues dealing with political repression, movements, alternative technology, self-sufficiency, and social analysis. In addition to these objectives, NOTES is also one of the leaders in the publication of Native poetry and is one of the centers of Native art production and distribution. NOTES is more than a news magazine – it is an exploration of Twentieth Century society, a view of these difficult times.

People from all walks of life read and correspond with NOTES. The success of our effort depends on the responses of our readers. We constantly need news clippings of events in Indian country and around the world – the kind of news people should know about. And, of course, we always have a use for photographs, recordings of taped interviews or speeches, and articles which people feel may be of interest to an international audience. Helping NOTES to grow is a way of helping many people gain in consciousness, and reading NOTES is a way of supporting your own personal growth.

We would like to have many more readers of NOTES. You can help this paper grow by encouraging your friends and acquaintances to read some of the articles you think may interest them. NOTES is not simply a Native newspaper – it is a newspaper which has a message for all peoples who are striving in some ways for a better future.

Ours is a most difficult task, for we are trying to help people who have some kind of interest and concern for their people to understand and to unite with other peoples who have what appear on the surface to be separate and different concerns. We believe that the concerned people can come to one mind about their concerns, and we would like to be a part of the process which may help this to happen. But we are, after all, only a newspaper, a reflection – you, the reader, are a participant in the processes which make the kind of life we and our children will lead in this world. We offer our work as a tool in your work

help us grow so that NOTES will be a stronger tool. Promote NOTES – tell people about it, generate interest in the issues we cover. In that way, we will all grow stronger.

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12" – $18.00; 16" – $20.00; 18" – $26.00. All basket orders should be addressed to Kaintares, %AKWESASNE NOTES, Mohawk Nation, via Rooseveltown, N.Y. 13683. Prepaid orders only. Price of packbasket includes harness, postage and handling.

In The Courtroom Arena

MOHAWK NATION – NOVEMBER 15, 1979

The Malone (N.Y.) courtroom was full. Several dozen Indians had come down from Akwesasne. A tall, balding white man, a deputy sheriff, ushered them in. There were many people still in the hallway.

Outside, it was snowing. Some thirty people walked in a circle on the sidewalk in front of the courthouse. Most of them were non–Indians who had allied themselves with the position of the Mohawk Nation. They carried signs. "Support Mohawk Sovereignty," one sign said. "Peace Between Nations," said another.

The press was there. They snapped photographs and taped interviews and a camera crew made its way up the steps, trailing electric cords. The people were lined up. At the door to the courtroom, a quiet crowd looked around for seats.

Entering a courtroom is very often like coming into a church, or at least seems designed to elicit the same kind of awe, a mixture of curiosity and fear. It is very definitely ground that belongs to them.

The tall sheriff who had been ushering people in had that kind of look. He was relaxed and friendly, but superior. It was his courtroom.

"Wait," the deputy suddenly said, loudly. The people stopped and looked at him. He had his palms up.

"We want the Longhouse People sitting over on this side," he said, pointing. "The Elective System people we want over to the other side."

An older Indian woman in a black coat was next in line to come in. She stood still. The deputy sheriff repeated his directions. He looked to the older woman. She folded her arms across her chest, looking back at him. He smiled, gesturing with his arms for her to come in. Still, she did not move. She looked at him.

The sheriff looked around. This was new to him. He smiled even more broadly. Nearer to the crowd, there were three other guards, armed, looking to him for direction. The sheriff was smiling out of that kind of superior friendliness that comes only from people who have force backing them up.

"It gives us an idea how much support each side has," he finally said to her.

"Why do you want it that way?" she suddenly asked. "Does that make a difference to the case today?"

The sheriff stepped back, raising his palms. "Oh, not at all," he said. "No, no. It has no bearing whatsoever on the case today." He was still smiling jovially.

The woman would not move. "What's the difference," she said, "where I sit?"

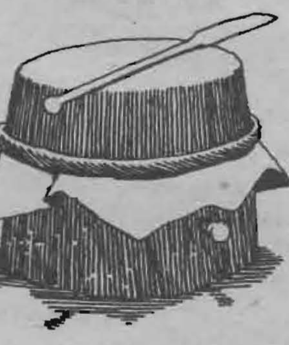
The sheriff frowned. Now the full courtroom was looking on them. Indians on both "sides" – Longhouse government and Elective System – looking upon an argument between a white deputy sheriff and an older Indian woman.

The sheriff smiled. "The idea," he repeated, as if the woman had simply misunderstood, "is for the Elective side to sit here and the Longhouse side to sit there – you see?"

The woman regarded him. Her face was very serious and her arms were folded across her chest. "Alright then," she said, "those of us who are on the fence, those that haven't made up our minds – where do we sit?"

The whole courtroom roared. She smiled.

The sheriff stepped back, gesturing to the guards. "Sit wherever you want," he said.



District Attorney Joseph Ryan kept walking through the gate that separates the spectators from the court arena. He is an older man, thin, with a narrow beakish nose and horned–rimmed glasses. He was carrying his papers up to the prosecution table. Behind him, on a bench also inside the arena and also facing forward glumly sat three representatives of the Elective System Trustees.

District Attorney Ryan is the man who was most instrumental in turning what was intended to look like a dispute among Mohawk people into a clear conflict between New York State and the traditional Mohawks. He engineered the criminal case that threatens to put more than twenty Mohawk nationals through an expensive court trial to face possible long prison sentences.

It is not quite clear why he has Elective System Trustees sitting behind him on this day, since they have no legal role to play in the hearing. It is possible that their presence is intended to butress the prosecution's contention that the parties in dispute are two "factions" of Mohawk people and to cloud the deeper issue that the dispute arose out of actions taken by the State of New York in 1949 when State Police imposed the Elective System at Akwesasne at gunpoint.

A few feet to Ryan's left, at the defense table, two other attorneys were preparing their papers. One is Howard Berman, a young man who has been fighting for the Longhouse causes in court for several years. He is thin and stands erect in court. The other man is William Kunstler, a lawyer long famous for his dramatic defenses of social activists all over the United States.

The judge had not yet entered the courtroom. Behind the attorneys, the courtroom was packed with Mohawk People from Akwesasne. Some had come out of curiosity.

The press was ushered in. Since the courtroom was full, the reporters were given the seats normally assigned to the jury. This arrangement seemed somehow symbolically correct, since it is the press who so often must be convinced of the facts and circumstances of these cases.

The defendants came in – Kenneth Thompson, Douglas George, Harriet Boots, David Deere, Donald Richmond, and Richard Powless. To a person, the defendants refuse to acknowledge the jurisdiction of the U.S. courts over themselves. They claim citizenship in the Mohawk Nation. A secret grand jury convened by D.A. Ryan earlier this year had named them, with fifteen others, in a variety of indictments including charges of assault, conspiracy, and riot. All the charges stem from a heated confrontation which took place on May 29 over the questionable legality of the present Elective System police force on the Mohawk Territory. The State of New York as represented by District Attorney Ryan views the acts of confrontation as violations of New York State law. The Traditional Mohawks view the actions of State Police and the presence of the Akwesasne Police as violations of the law of the Mohawk Nation and as violations of treaties between the Haudenosaunee (the Six Nations Iroquois Confederacy) and the United States of America.

The Haudenosaunee (Six Nations Iroquois Confederacy) is one of the oldest continuously operating systems of government in the world. The Mohawk Nation, with its central council fire at Akwesasne, is one of its member nations.

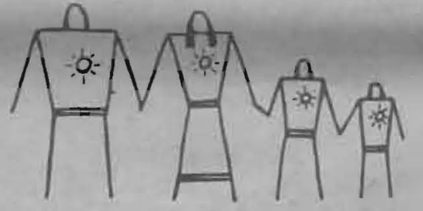
It was a warm, sunny day last May when the People of the Mohawk Nation were gathered at their Longhouse. A series of trespasses against property and assaults against their members by Akwesasne Police and New York State troopers had brought them together. In the most recent series of incidents, one of their chiefs had been beaten and arrested after he had allegedly stopped a federal program from cutting down trees and clearing a fenceline path on the chief's family's property. A 73–year–old woman had been clubbed and hospitalized during the incident.

This reporter was not there on that day in May, but I have heard accounts that the people were strong in spirit on that occassion. The People of the Haudenosaunee have a well–deserved reputation as outstanding orators. On that day, much discussion took place. Several hundred Mohawk People rose as one to the decision to march to the Elective System offices to demand for the third and final time that the Akwesasne Police resign because they had been acting as mercenaries in bringing New York State's laws into the Mohawk Territory in contradiction to Mohawk law and treaties with the United States. The Mohawk People took this action with the full understanding of what such an action could mean.

The walk down the road to the Elective System offices and the police headquarters was brisk and decisive. The people were unarmed. The chiefs, speaking for the people, gave their last warning to the Police officers. When the police refused to resign, the people rushed them and disarmed them. The only injuries were minor bruises and damage to some egos. The building was occupied for some nine hours, until it was decided, for the sake of the older people who receive program services there, to open it up once again.

It wasn't too long after this incident that Joseph Ryan, the Franklin County District Attorney, went on record calling the Mohawk People "a bunch of animals." He convened a secret grand jury which, under his guidance, returned the fifteen indictments naming twenty–one people on ostensibly criminal charges. Since then, he has been instrumental in stirring up a climate of fear and suspicion that some community people believe has been responsible for one and possibly two deaths of Mohawk people. He has consistently refused to acknowledge the existence of the Mohawk Nation.

In court, on this day, he seemed a bit nervous. Once, he dropped some papers on the floor. When he bent down for them, his pen fell out of his pocket. I remember his head shaking as he scrambled to retrieve it.



The Judge, a man named Jan Plumadore, is young and soft–spoken. He entered the courtroom without too much ceremony, simply taking his seat as the clerk announced his presence. He declared the court in session.

Before him, on this day, pre–trial motions were to be presented on the topic of whether or not New York State and Franklin County Courts have jurisdiction in the Mohawk Territory. It was not a day to argue the facts and circumstances of the incidents from which the indictments had arisen. The defense had prepared to present historical and legal evidence of the continuous existence of the Mohawk Nation. The defense also wished to argue the political nature of the case and to urge him to consider the potentially volatile and violent circumstances which could arise in the Mohawk country as a result of this prosecution.

Howard Berman went first. He argued that there are valid treaties which exist between the Haudenosaunee (known as the Six Nations Iroquois Confederacy) and other nations, including the United States. Berman spoke in a quiet, measured tone.

There was a time not too long ago, he related, when the Mohawk Nation occupied large portions of what is now considered New York State. This was (and is) their aboriginal homeland. The history of contact between the Mohawk People and the various European nations includes numerous instances of agreements called treaties under which the Native nation reserved rights to land, economic necessities, and sovereignty.

Berman carefully outlined the development of these treaties, putting forth the historical and contemporary case for their continued legality under international law. He also spoke of the Great Law of Peace, the guiding

COURTROOM CONTINUED NEXT PAGE

force of Haudenosaunee political and legal life.

"The unilateral abrogation of these treaties by legislative action," he said, "is simply illegal under international law. A nation may not unilaterally absolve itself from its treaty obligations."

Berman than fully discussed Article VII of the 1794 Treaty of Canandaigua, which defines the procedure to be followed in instances of conflict between people of the Haudenosaunee and people of the United States. The Judge listened intently, bending forward occassionally and making brief notations on his pad.

The relevance of Berman's historical presentation derived from the need to define the limits of the State's jurisdiction on the Akwesasne Reservation. Next, he presented Judge Plumadore with evidence that the legal boundaries of Franklin and St. Lawrence counties leave the Akwesasne Territories outside the jurisdiction of the courts of either county, and that the New York State Constitution limits the jurisdiction of county courts to the boundaries of the counties as defined by the State legislature. He argued that a 1948 law (P.L. 232) which the prosecution contends extends blanket New York State jurisdiction into the Indian country, does not in fact extend blanket jurisdiction. Public Law 232, Berman asserted, grants permissory, not mandatory jurisdiction, and was intended to allow the State of New York to extend laws into those Indian territories where the laws and customs of the Indian people had been lost or forgotten, a situation which clearly did not apply to Akwesasne which has a traditional government in place. Berman urged that even if the court found that P.L. 232 did grant to New York State some criminal jurisdiction into the Mohawk country, that the long–standing rule of the court is that where a treaty exists the courts are bound to interpret any subsequent and apparently contradictory statutes in such a way that unless the law specifically extinguishes a treaty right, that treaty right must survive to the extent that it is possible for that right to survive in the face of the statute.

"The State legislature has never extended its jurisdiction to those territories," he said. Pointing to the defendants, he continued, "These people and their chiefs are in effect being indicted for actions in the defense of the laws of their own nation."

Kunstler rose next. Kunstler is a lawyer with the capacity to create intense drama inside a courtroom. Today, however, his presentation required only quiet seriousness.

The purpose of his brief presentation was to impress upon Judge Plumadore the circumstantial ramifications of this case. He would ask the Judge to dismiss the indictments against the defendants "in the interests of justice."

"Your honor," Kunstler said, "this is one of those unique cases which compel historical analysis."

There is more to this case than meets the eye, he said. It is obviously a situation that goes beyond the particular criminal charges made, reaching deep into history and requiring an understanding of its racial implications. Briefly, Kunstler discussed the phenomenon of racism, a "seed," he said, which is planted in every white person perhaps as early as at his mother's breast and which finds its way, sometimes unconsciously, into these sorts of situations.

He then discussed the case of Richard Cook, a Mohawk man shot to death some weeks earlier by a local white farmer. In that case, which had been brought before a grand jury also convened by D.A. Ryan, no charges had been brought against the killer. On the one hand, Kunstler said, you have a case in which Indian people take political action inside their own community involving no serious loss of property or injury to persons, and the District Attorney prosecutes to the full extent of his power. But when the shoe is on the other foot, so to speak, and it is a white man who acts against an Indian – causing his death, the full power of the law seems to take a totally different attitude. "As we all know, your honor," Kunstler said, "grand juries receive their evidence and take direction from the District Attorney. Grand Juries are the creation of the prosecution."

On that day, at the very moment that Kunstler was speaking, a car was speeding to the residence of Lester Barney, the alleged killer of Richard Cook. Inside the car, a man was carrying papers that he would serve on the farmer informing him of a $5 million wrongful death lawsuit brought against him by the widow of the dead man. Richard Cook was the father of four small children.

Some weeks earlier, the widow of Richard Cook and her two brothers had come to speak to the Mohawk Nation Chief's Council. They had come to the community at Racquette Point, on the reservation, where several dozen traditional families have formed an encampment around the house of one of the indicted chiefs. Mrs. Cook is a quiet, shy woman. Her two brothers, both young ironworkers from the "Canadian" side of the Mohawk Territory, had been with her husband on the night of the shooting. Up to that day, Mrs. Richard Cook had never met with the Mohawk Nation Chief's Council. In fact, she had never considered herself a Traditional Longhouse person. Her husband, though off–duty at the time of his death, had been employed as an Akwesasne (Quebec) Police officer.

The chiefs received Mrs. Cook and her brothers cordially, and she proceeded to tell them her story. She was coming to them that day, she said, because she was attempting to see justice done. Her husband, she said, had been accused of being in the act of syphoning gas out of the farmer's car when he was shot. This, she emphasized, was a lie. "My husband was not a thief," she said. "For the sake of our children, I would like some help in trying to clear his name."

"THE RELEVANCE OF BERMAN'S HISTORICAL PRESENTATION DERIVED FROM THE NEED TO DEFINE THE LIMITS OF THE STATE'S JURISDICTION ON THE AKWESASNE RESERVATION. NEXT, HE PRESENTED JUDGE PLUMADORE WITH EVIDENCE THAT THE LEGAL BOUNDARIES OF FRANKLIN AND ST. LAWRENCE COUNTIES LEAVE THE AKWESASNE TERRITORIES OUTSIDE THE JURISDICTION OF EITHER COUNTY, AND THAT THE NEW YORK STATE CONSTITUTION LIMITS THE JURISDICTION OF COUNTY COURTS TO THE BOUNDARIES OF THE COUNTIES AS DEFINED BY THE STATE LEGISLATURE. HE ARGUES THAT A 1948 LAW (P.L. 232). . . GRANTS PERMISSORY, NOT MANDATORY JURISDICTION. . ."

In the weeks that had followed her husband's death, she said, she had approached the Canadian and American Elective governments on the Mohawk Nation Territory, attempting to get legal help. Several times she had been promised such help, but when the time came for some sort of action, they had backed away. She had also approached several local lawyers, but they had also backed away from her request. Once, in exasperation, she had asked one of them if he had refused the case because she was an Indian. "Maybe," the lawyer had responded, "Maybe."

Mrs. Cook's brothers also had a story to tell. They were young men who spoke better Mohawk than English and had to continually turn for assistance in translation as they spoke. They were also quietly emotional, at times losing the sound of their own voice and their eyes watering.

They had been returning from a pizza house in a nearby town, they said, when their car had skidded off the road and into a ditch. After repeated attempts to push it out themselves, they had decided to approach a nearby farm house in the attempt to rent a tractor. They walked single file, down the road and into a drive way. Richard Cook, driver of the car, was in the lead. As he rounded a car in the driveway, the two men related, a blast rang out. "I'm hit," Richard gasped, and he dropped.

"We were right behind him," one of the young men said. "We crouched down and backed away in the darkness. We thought to pick up Richard, but we didn't know where the shot had come from and didn't want to risk one of us getting killed too. So we backed away and got to the road and ran."

It was only the beginning of their ordeal. They related that in the following days they were threatened with larceny charges and brought before what they were told was a coroner's inquest but which may have actually been a grand jury hearing. The Mohawk Nation chiefs decided to help Mrs. Cook in whatever way they could.

It was precisely this kind of incident, Kunstler said in court, that he hoped could be avoided in the future. "I have seen these things happen before, your honor," he said, referring to the aftermath of the Wounded Knee 1973 occupation which gave rise to a climate of fear on that reservation which resulted in the deaths of several dozen Indian people. "I would ask you, in the interest of justice, to dismiss this case and thus work to lessen the possibility of further racial tension and violence," he concluded.

District Attorney Ryan shuffled through his papers. He looked toward the bench and the Judge nodded to him. Ryan stood up.

I was sitting in one of the jury seats, watching him, and it is important to be truthful: I didn't like Joe Ryan. This was the first time I had seen him but over the past several months I have heard dozens of stories about him. They are not very pleasant stories. Thinking of how almost single–handedly he has put so many people that I respect in the position of having to defend themslves as common criminals, of having to leave their homes, their jobs, in some cases their families – thinking of the children who have gotten sick in the Racquette Point camp because of a lack of proper housing, of the children who had to endure the terror of the near–fatal police attack against their parents on August 28th, thinking of the possibility that some 20–odd men and women may end up behind bars because of his "concept of justice", it was hard to find a good mind toward this man.

Sitting in that courtroom, and now as I write this I make the attempt to divorce myself from the antagonisms – from how easy it would be to caricature him.

He was nervous, ill–at–ease. He stood and he began speaking and as he spoke he moved around. The presentations that Berman and Kunstler had made had obviously knocked him off balance. Berman's research had been exacting. Kunstler is simply Kunstler. Working as a team and speaking carefully they had been direct, both logically and emotionally. Ryan rambled. This is not my prejudice; this was obvious to every observer in that courtroom. He was as a car whose motor is running but cannot get into gear. Twice he completely lost his train of thought. Several times he started on one topic, only to change in mid–sentence and move on, almost incoherently to something else.

I remember wondering about the opposing systems of thought behind those two tables of attorneys. Behind the defense stood one of the most sophisticated and coherent legal and political systems of thought in recorded history – the Haudenosaunee Great Law of Peace. Detractors of the traditional side in this dispute, both Indian and non–Indian, may criticize the traditional people for any variety of reasons, but no one will dispute that fact. Berman and Kunstler, for all their talent and skill, were not operating from a philosophical vacuum.

There was no comparable system palpable at the prosecution table. There converged some rather strange bedfellows.

The Elective chiefs sat behind Joe Ryan. Behind them, some two dozen of their sympathizers and friends were also listening. It was interesting to watch them, for the more nervous and rattled Ryan got, the more that his disdain for the Mohawk people became apparent. At one point, he seemed to cross over that fine line, where if you were Mohawk or simply Indian and sitting in that room, he had to represent to you a most blatant example of the arrogance of the white man. This was most obvious when he was reciting his version of the

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history of Akwesasne.

"Where did the people of Akwesasne come from?" he asked, rhetorically, in a scoffing tone. "It was a haven for Jesuit Catholic Indians."

The careful history of the Mohawk people, driven and coerced from their ancient homeland in the Mohawk Valley but migrating to areas still recognized as part of their territory by every government on earth at the time, was missing in Ryan's account. Ryan was arguing that the Mohawks at Akwesasne were a pitiful bunch of Indians who got a break from the white man and was insinuating that now some of them were ungratefully biting the very hand that feeds them. "They get (their land) courtesy of the the U.S. Government – the same government they blame for their troubles," he said.

When Ryan was done, Berman spoke in rebuttal. He was quick and to the point, only addressing Ryan's most blatant errors. One is worth noting: Ryan had developed the argument that the Mohawks had not signed the 1794 Treaty and therefore had no right to claim protection under the provisions of that treaty. Berman produced a copy of a document of the treaty commission which indicated that a delegate from the Mohawk Nation had attended the treaty conference with authority to sign on behalf of the Nation. He pointed to that delegate's signature at the bottom of the treaty. So it went.

Later that afternoon, at the Akwesasne Longhouse, the People had gathered to hear a report of the events of the day. While they waited for the lawyers, several people spoke. I remember a young man in particular, not a chief, just one of the community's men. He got up and began speaking his perceptions of the white man's culture which surrounds the Akwesasne community and which, in fact, has forced its way, in one form or another, into every home there.

"It is hard to fight," he said. "I know. It is really crazy, and you really have to watch it or it grabs you right up. " The young man spoke for a long while. At times he was eloquent, at times repetitive, but always intense.

"Many say our way is over," he said, "that we are crazy to continue this way. They say we are not facing the reality of modern life. I tell you, I think it is they who are crazy, who are not facing reality. They hide the reality of how their children are dying. They hide it with their drinking, they hide it with money, with crazy movies, with pornography, with all those things."

The people listened to him. They listened politely, but not too attentively. He was, after all, only a young man.

I wished Joe Ryan could have heard him. I wished Judge Plumadore could have heard him – not because he was even eloquent by Mohawk standards, but more precisely, because in his own young way he represented something, something which on this day had not given any indication of dying out.

The young man finished his talk and thanked the people for listening. Then the faces turned. The attorneys were now ready to give their report.

(Howard Berman is an attorney with the Indian Law Resource Center in Washington, D.C.. William Kunstler is a volunteer staff attorney with the Center for Constitutional Rights in New York City.)

Sakokwenonkwas Speaks:

(Sakokwenonkwas is a young Mohawk chief and is widely known nationally for his views on the Traditional Way of Life. He is believed to be one of the men under indictment for incidents arising from an action which took place on May 29, 1979, and from which arose 15 indictments charging some 21 Mohawk people with various crimes ranging from conspiracy to assault, robbery and riot. AKWESASNE NOTES interviewed Sakokwenonkwas at the encampment on Racquette Point on December 4, 1979. At the time of the interview, the encampment had been in existence for four months and represents the longest action of its type in Indian country this century. In the opening statement of the interview, Sakokwenonkwas recited a version of the opening address of the Haudenosaunee, the speech with which Traditional people of the Six Nations open and close each social or sacred gathering.)

AKWESASNE NOTES: This Racquette Point encampment has been here since August 3. I wonder if you can give us an explanation about how it came to be and generally what you see here.

SAKOKWENONKWAS: Last night, one of the Onondaga Chiefs, another Mohawk chief and myself went to the different bunkers on the hills to visit with the men. We have a sunrise ceremony every morning, and this morning I missed that because we came back late last night. When you woke me up this morning, that's what I was thinking – that I missed that. Then I thought that the words of thanksgiving would be a good start, a good way to help people understand some of the reasons that we are here.

To the people who are here, and the people who will be reading this message in the newspaper, telling about us, – we should be grateful to them for their interest and their efforts in our cause. At this time, we would like to give our greetings and thanksgivings to all the people here and to all the people wherever they are who have made efforts to help us. At this time we give them our thanks and our greetings from our smallest children to our oldest grandfather who happens to be about 92.

At this time now, we shall direct our minds to our Mother Earth, because the Creator made our Mother Earth and we are upon Her body. Still today, you and I and everybody have come this far in the history of the whole World. Since the beginning of that history, this Mother Earth has supported us. This Mother Earth has given everything that we need to live. And so at this time I would like to say that the people here and all the people everywhere – that our minds should be thinking about that and that as they read this message we should with oneness of Mind give our greetings and thanksgiving to our Mother Earth who has always followed the Creator's instructions. So we give greetings to our Mother Earth.

To the bodies of water, the rivers, the big lakes, the streams – to all bodies of water, to our wells and springs. The creator made those as well. The Creator gave life to those waters, and also direct the water to work hand–in–hand with all the other Life that the Creator put on this earth. So as we drink the water each day, the coolness of that water and the quenching of our thirst brings to our mind the commonality we share, and so I would like to ask that our people, and all our supporters, as you drink this water today, let our minds come together as one and we shall offer our greetings to all the water of the world which has brought us this far, so be it our minds.

There is another that the Creator put on this Earth – the grass, and all the medicines, the herbs and different vegetation. And the Creator's master plan was that we would be interdependent on each other – on these herbs and grasses that feed the animals, the wild game – and to those medicinal things that heal the sicknesses. Though mankind has forgotten the secrets and the knowledge and the proper way to deal with these things, the medicines have not forgotten. They still wait every day and every night for the human beings and the animal world to ask them for their help that peace may come and sickness may go. So, as forgetful human beings that we are, let us think that way, and give our greetings at this time to the medicines and vegetation of the world.

There is another. The Creator put on this Earth the

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bird life. The bird life flies over our heads, and early in the morning they will sing their songs to remind us of this life. Their song will shake up our mind so that our minds will not become lonely – they will be our companions. The birdlife still does this, although they are few, like we American Indians are few now. The birdlife still struggles to bring happiness to the minds of mankind. And to the Eagle, which was placed upon the Tree of Peace, to guard our people. To all of them – they are few now, just like the American Indian – we ask that all our people will think about this the next time they hear the birds, and we will now put our minds together as one mind and give our greetings to all the bird life as is our duty so that life will go on.

At this time we direct our attention to the Four Winds. They will blow at night and in the day. They will make the air to move, and in that way, they will support life. Those winds have been made by the Creator for all life to share. To those winds which have never failed: To those winds who are also now hampered by mankind. To those winds who are not as healthy, just as we the people have become very ill, still they strive to live and they still try to perform their duties. And so, I ask at this time that all the people that read this direct their attention to the Spirit and the Power of the Winds who never detoured from the Creator's instruction to do their duty for the benefit of all life. So now we give greetings to the Winds so be it our minds.

To all the things of the world, and there are many, all that Life has a purpose; to all that Life we shall gather our mind as One and give our acknowledgement and greeting to all those things that are too numerous to mention right now. so be it our mind.

And to the Sky. The Creator has provided the Day–time Sun. The Day–time Sun will be our Older Brother, and he will watch over us, the younger sisters and brothers. He will shine the light that we may see as we walk upon this Mother Earth; that we will see each other, that we will see the commonness of one another. With His heat, the Earth will not freeze, with his heat and power things will grow. So to our Older Brother the Sun who shines today, the most reliable there could be, we the People shall take this moment to offer our greeting to our Old Brother Sun who has followed the Creator's instruction from the day of the beginning, until this time. And hopefully tomorrow we shall see Him again. For that reason, we find words of gratitude and encouragement to our Old Brother Sun at this time.

To our Grandmother Moon, who the Creator placed in the sky and who is the leader of all Female Life in her monthly cycle. The Creator placed in her hands the duties to see that the families of the human beings will continue on. When our babies are born, and we first hear them cry, that means that Grandmother Moon is still strong and still shares her power with us. The tides of the ocean rise and fall, the gardens of the Earth produce food – it is the doings of Grandmother Moon. And so we are enabled to live today. At this time let our minds be as one Mind and extend greetings and thanksgivings to our Grandmother Moon, the head woman of the earth.

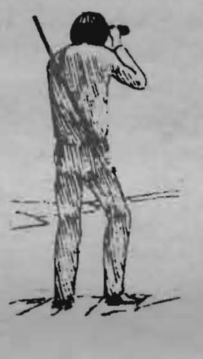
Also to the unseen forces of the earth. The Creator has put forth these Beings and gave Them power that they may watch over us and carry messages to all the powers and to the Creator to report the way things are going. To those spiritual beings, we extend greetings and thanksgiving at this time.

Now to our Creator, the Maker of all the World. In the beginning of time when the world was new and the Creator made us, he told our grandfathers – the first grandfathers that was – I have made everything you need there on the Earth. These things will bring you Peace, and will bring you Life that will be continuous. All I ask is a simple instruction – that you will be grateful for everything you use. As you walk about the Earth, every life you see, you will acknowledge it with gratitude. You will always be grateful." So it is that the Indian people of the Americas continue our ceremonies, for those ceremonies express the gratitude and the acknowledgement of interdependence to all the things of nature – to all the things that are necessary for us to live from day to day. At this time let us think about these things, and let us face our Creator – the Mystery of the Whole Universe, and give our thanks and our greetings at this time.

AN: This kind of conflict looks like a political conflict to the outside world. What is happening here must sound to observers like a dispute between the Traditional people and the Elective System people. Can you respond to that?

Sako: I do think that much of the outside world does think that this is a struggle between the Traditional and the Elective Mohawk people. But all the while we've been in this camp, it rarely crosses my mind that the enemy is the Elective faction of our people. It has always been clear in my mind – every day – that our whole struggle is with the State of New York and the federal government of the United States. Hardly ever do I see our own people as the obstacle. Although it may appear that way to the outside world, it is not that way. What I see at stake here is the same thing that I see when they talk about the Buffalo or the Golden Eagle or any other species of bird or animal that are on the verge of extinction. That is the same thing that I see here with our people. We are at the verge of extinction. The Way of Life that our grandfathers said that we should adhere to or be in harmony with is at stake. Our language, our beliefs, and all that which makes us a people is at stake. Among the Mohawk people here at Akwesasne, there are roughly about 6,000 in population. Out of that 6,000, of our children under the age of five, you might find maybe two dozen that can speak fluent Mohawk. Once the older generation is gone and passed away, the Mohawk language is gone from the face of the earth forever, never again to return. And Akwesasne probably has the most fluent speakers of our language of any Mohawk communities left. Specialists say that language is 50% or more of culture. The ceremonies, the different songs – it all requires our language. Once it's gone, everything else ceases. With the land, and with the freedom of choice to work for the interests of the People, there's a certain pride that comes with that. If we lose the control to determine our own affairs, then we lose all that too, and we become nothing. So this is a fight not only of laws and principles, but it is a fight to survive, that we may have the spirit that makes the body mean something. It's hard to express what I'm trying to say. We are fighting and struggling for a way of life that is almost extinct. The opening prayer, if people think about it, that is what we are fighting for: that there will be a common bond, a common direction so that the world and all its powers can be shared and respected, that all could share in peace, in unity, that all could share in the continuance of mankind. This struggle is more than simply involvement in a court over police. It is a fight to try to bring to the attention of the world that the world is in trouble.

"IN THE LAST FEW MONTHS OUR PEOPLE HAVE COME TO REALIZE THE DANGERS. THOSE PLANTS AND FACTORIES AND INDUSTRIES ARE ACTUALLY THE REAL ENEMY."



"SO THIS IS A FIGHT NOT ONLY OF LAWS AND PRINCIPLES, BUT IT IS A FIGHT TO SURVIVE, THAT WE MAY HAVE THE SPIRIT THAT MAKES THE BODY MEAN SOMETHING."

AN: From the windows of this building, one can see the General Motors plant on one side, and the International Bridge, and the St. Lawrence Seaway. A little ways from here, one can see the Reynolds Aluminum Plant, and on a day when the wind is right, we are reminded of the presence of the paper mills in Cornwall. In a way, this place on Racquette Point is a very symbolic location. All those things support the Way of Life which is the lifeline of the Elective System. Are *you saying that this encampment is a part of a struggle* against that Way of Life?

Sako: In the last few months our people have come to realize the real dangers. Those plants and factories and industries actually are the real enemy. In a sense, the struggle is almost comparable of a man trying to lift up the world with his two hands – that's the odds. In order to explain that, a whole history of the world is needed. A whole understanding of the different processes and also the different ethnic groups or races would have to research their paths as well and find that common chord, that universal understanding, that will cause the people of the world to really consider what is the enemy. What things are needed to secure that there will be a world here for the next generation, and the one after that. In a sense, you know, we are asking that part of the world who hear us to support us almost blindly, unless this investigation is taken on that we may understand where we are at as a whole – not only as Indians, but as a whole.

AN: People seem to be confused about how things would change under the traditional form of things. The Elective System, for example, does not perceive Akwesasne as an area where people must live for many generations to come. Their way of thinking and organizing treats the Territory of Akwesasne as a dividable commodity, and the people are not members of a Nation or community, but rather seen as members of an annuity role who have some rights to ownership in the property as commodity definition of things. How would things be different under the traditional system.

Sako: The traditional people are motivated by something entirely different that the motivations of the Elective people. Basically the Elective system is motivated by dollars. They see security in dollars. They see security in material things, especially anything you can buy. The traditional people are guided not by the dollar sign. One of the things that comes to mind is that before she passed away, my grandmother one time really kind of scolded my grandfather. They were both up in

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years. She comes from a traditional background and greatly affected my life as far as understanding of traditional values goes. One time, a project was coming into the reservation – a waterline – and my grandfather was very sick at the time. He said that he didn't like these projects but he said that he couldn't argue any more because he said he was going to die pretty soon and it was useless to get involved. And my grandmother got on his case and she said, "What are you talking about? You have 11 children and you have pretty near a hundred grandchildren and you're going to give up and you're not going to argue for them?' And that's basically the attitude of the Traditional people. They will fight and strive for what's going to be for their grandchildren and the next grandchildren. There's a strong feeling of family among Traditional groups. We say that our great–great grandparents are buried here, and a feeling there that we are a people, that we have to do everything in our power to make sure that this land is going to be there for our children for generations to come. Whatever happens, we have to watch to see that it doesn't destroy the coming generations. We base ourselves, too, on clans, on Mohawk things, on our ceremonies and our Traditional leaders, our language. Things that are kind of foreign to the United States are things that are sacred to us. The Elective system doesn't have have a grasp of that. They aren't exactly Americans, but they are almost.

AN: The Mohawk Nation looks for its legal system to the Great Law of the Iroquois. The Great Law has a lot of legal thinking about how things should be in the Iroquois country. The way our great–grandfathers thought is very different from the way many people today are thinking, even Iroquois people. That difference has been imposed on them from the outside. One of the differences is that in the Great Law, the Longhouse is to be one country. Just as people who are citizens of New York may move to California and still know that they are still within the same country, that way of thinking is expressed under the Great Law about Onondaga people who move to the Mohawk country. If the laws of the Nation were to prevail in the Mohawk country, would that mean a rejoining with the principles of the Great Law which offer all the Iroquois people full rights in the country of the Haudenosaunee? Do the people see Iroquois as one united country as they saw it long ago?

Sako: Yes. A lot of the people who are here have been really wanting to know of the things of ancient times and how that can be applied today. A lot of the things we have learned since we have been in this camp, things that were philosophy, has now become reality. The practicality of these things has been very surprising. A lot of people fear living close together in community. But since this camp has been in existence, we have applied a lot of those old philosophies without really intending to. It became the prectical thing to do. It's surprising the effect it has has on the people of this camp. 'By golly,' they said, 'that's not so bad after all. In fact, life is much easier.' Of course, there's a long way yet to go, to see if those philosophies can be practiced in reality. It's been a wonderful experience, even though the sadness of it is that we don't know if any night the police are going to come in and just wipe us out. Still, there's that feeling that something is happening. It's frightening, but it's happening and it's a good feeling.

AN: I'm very curious about plans for an economy. Are the people here thinking about going back to the traditional economy in some form?

Sako: We have to do that, we have to try to regain that economy. And I do think that once we do that, once we go in that direction, that just like us living in this camp together we'll be surprised at how practical it is, and how much easier it is. There's a lot of talk among the people here that we have to become independent, as much as possible or as circumstances allows us to do. The minds here are really thinking of doing as our grandfathers did as closely as we can.

AN: There was a question that came up when the camp was first formed. There was an alarm expressed about the existence of bunkers and so forth. The camp has been here for more than four months, and thus far, no one has been injured even in the face of many threats and much display of force by the State. Can you tell us a little bit about why those bunkers were put in place and how you saw the need for the development of a physical defense?

Sako: We don't really want bunkers, we don't really want a gun or anything like that. We want a peaceful way of life. But that peaceful way of life is being denied us, and the state does not give a chance for our voice to be heard. If there was no bunker or no gun or bullets, the state would have been here a long time ago and would have brutalized our people to submit to the courts. Their justice would prevail, and their laws would prevail. What they wanted would be obtained. If the State police had come here, and there were no guns in here, the camp would have been over a long time ago, and we'd all be in jail, and tied up in the court system.

"SINCE THIS ALL HAPPENED HERE' THERE HAVE BEEN A LOT OF WHITE PEOPLE SINCERELY SUPPORTING US. THERE HAVE BEEN SOME BLACK PEOPLE WHO HAVE COME HERE. THERE HAVE EVEN BEEN BUDDHIST FROM JAPAN WHO HAVE BEEN WITH US. SO NOW I HAVE HAD 'AN EDUCATION. NOW I LOOK AT THOSE WHITE PEOPLE WHO ARE SUPPORTING US NOT AS WHITE PEOPLE ANYMORE. AND THE JAPANESE, AND THE BLACK MEN WHO WERE HERE. NOW I SEE THEM AS OTHER HUMAN BEINGS. BEFORE, I LOOKED AT THEM AS A WHITE MAN, A BLACK MAN, AND THOUGHT THAT THEY REALLY HAVE NOTHING TO DO WITH ME. BUT NOW I DON'T HAVE THOSE KIND OF THOUGHTS ANYMORE. I HAVE SHED THAT."

These bunkers and things like that, these aren't really traditional things. These are some of the things that we Mohawks and our allies have learned well from the United States' ways. The purpose of the guns is purely for self defense only. If the police come in when they have been told to stay out, they will be used in self defense, to protect the children, the women, the leaders and the people of the Mohawk Nation. The only way that any violence could occur as a result of our people having guns would have to be initiated by the New York State Police. The last thing that the Mohawk people want is for somebody to get hurt or any violence to occur. As you said before, all these months have passed and nobody's been killed, nobody's been hurt. It's too bad that the United States governments can only understand the bullet, rather than respect the principles of peace, principles of the good way of life that the Traditional Mohawk people have. If the government could understand and respect our life, our principles, and our desires to live in peace, maybe a good friendship would be between us, as the treaties stated. Then we wouldn't have to have the gun.

AN: Do you think that the people within this camp have grown politically as a result of the overall experience here?

Sako: Since this all happened here, there have been a lot of white people sincerely supporting us. There have been some Black people who have come here. There have even Buddhist from Japan who have been with us. So I have had an education. Now I look at those white people who have been helping us not as white people any more. And the Japanese, and the Black men who were here. Now I see them as other human beings. Before, I looked at them as a white man, a Black man, and thought that they really have nothing to do with me. But now, I don't have those kind of thoughts any more. I have shed that. I haven't asked the people at the camp their thoughts, but I have heard a few comments that are very similar to what I am saying now, from quite a few of them. So our outlook has changed. Now there is a clearer view of the necessity to combine efforts of the human beings – for the world to start doing something in a positive way. Whenever we had a ceremony, it used to be that the people didn't want white people around. But now, at our ceremonies, there have been white people present, and my mind has been at peace. I learned that much. To me, it means that all human beings need to work together on this universal problem.

The main thing that I would like to say to all the readers of this message is that even though there has been a blackout of national press coverage on the problems here, the people must understand that they need to continue to use their influence to put pressure on the State of New York and the President. Direct them to the treaties which outline the procedures to handle problems such as this. We must ask the people to try to get more exposure of this story. The two major things which have helped us have been our requests to the spiritual powers and the assistance we have gotten from the readers of the newspaper. They have responded admirably, and we are asking that they not get tired, because maybe if they continue that activity, maybe there will be a reward for them and for us in the future. It is hard to thank the people who have helped us, because we are asking them to continue to help us in our efforts to expose these problems. As far as we have gone together, our people are grateful, and we are thanking them. But we aren't thanking them because the job is done. We are thanking them only for as far as we have gone. It is only the beginning, and we are appealing to them to continue to support us, and to gain a better understanding of the future things that can be gained from this struggle that we together have gone through.

Also, about the Olympic Games. We have no intention to try to stop or hinder in any way the Olympic Games. Our only intention is to gain exposure of the United States' harrassments against the Mohawk and other Native peoples. We hope that the world can become aware that we, as small as we are, are just as determined to share in freedom too.

Ogwahowaykah Henodeystah

"A PLACE OF COMMON INTEREST"

(On November 20, 1979, AKWESASNE NOTES interviewed nine parents who have children attending Ogwahonwaykah Henodeystah, which translates roughly into "Indian Way School", on the Cattaraugus Indian Reservation in Western New York. The parents who participated in the interview were: Mrs. Wheeler, Mr. & Mrs. R. John, Mr. & Mrs. White, Mr. & Mrs. D. John, Mrs. Henderson, and Mr. & Mrs. L. Hemlock. One student, Mr. L. Hemlock, was also present. At some point or another, just about all of the parents responded to questions during the course of the interview, and their responses reflected a distinct consensus of opinion on the topics discussed. Because of this, we have ommitted identification of the responses in terms of personalities, and have presented the interview as a group interview, which it was. What follows is the discussion at that interview.)

AKWESASNE NOTES: What motivated you to start this project?

PARENT: We did it because our children weren't learning in the public school. In our family we wanted to get more into the (Seneca) culture and the religion. It wasn't hard for us because for five or six years now we have been living by the Gaiwiio. It took the pressure off us when we took our children out of the public school.

AN: Before you developed this alternative to the public school, did those schools hassle you when you took your children out to attend the ceremonies?

PARENT: We would ask for assignments a couple of weeks ahead of time, and they said that they don't plan their lessons that far ahead of time. So the children would get behind. Now, since we have started this project, when something goes on at the Longhouse everything stops here and everybody goes there. It's like a different world.

AN: You say that the reasons that you took the children out of the public school was because that you had religious objectives. What were the things you were thinking about in terms of religion? Was it that you were concerned with ceremonies, or was it a desire to conform with the code of Hansome Lake that more or less instructs people to be wary of sending their children to the white man's school.

PARENT: We have a family and we follow the Handsome Lake Code. It was hard for our children. They would come back to us from the public school and we were trying to keep our Indian ways alive. Then they would go back to school and have to adjust to that way and then come back again.

AN: I notice in one day at the school that language is a heavy part of the activity. None of the children speak the Seneca language, is that right?

PARENT: Very little.

AN: So it's a real fear, a real worry, that unless some young people come along in the next few years that can speak the language and who know enough about how to carry on the ceremonies, that the culture will be lost.

PARENT: Right. That was one of the reasons. But right now the young people aren't learning and we should start them while they are young. There are parents in the group who believe... that we can learn (Seneca language) right along with the children. That was very important.

AN: So the parents and the children are both going to the same classes, especially the culture classes, and are picking up the language together. How's that working out?

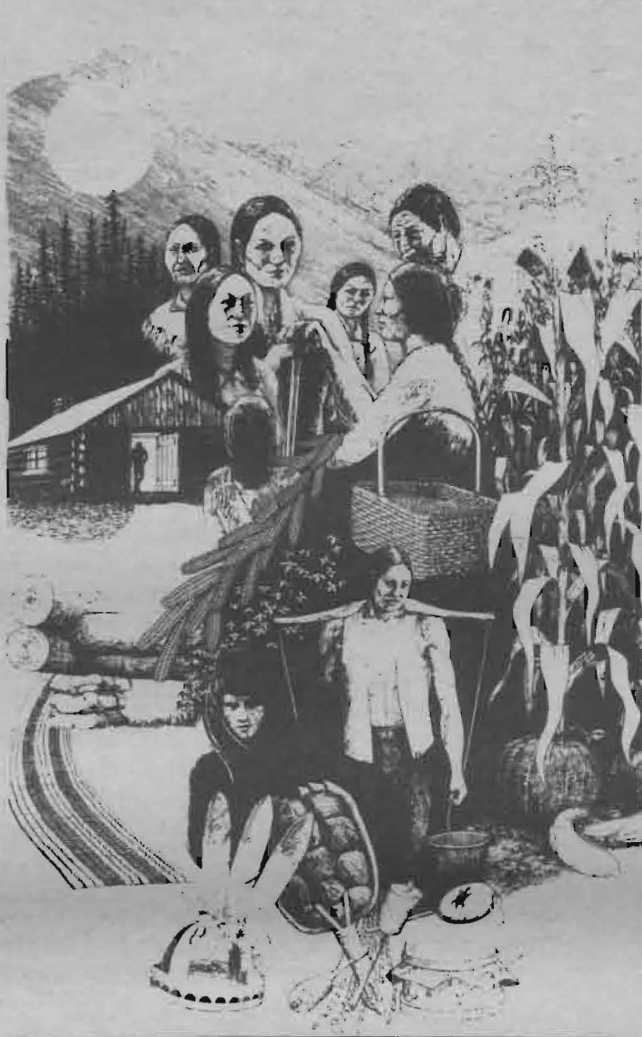
PARENT: Well, it's been an adjustment. People have had to make adjustments...

AN: You started this school with no money. How many students did you have in the beginning?

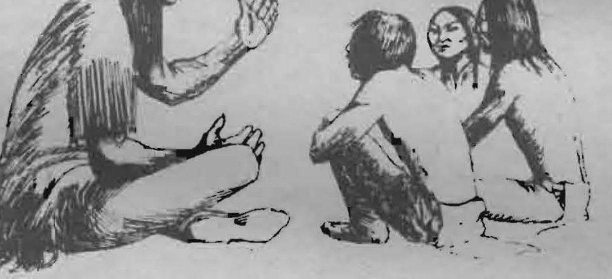
PARENT: Only seven... We started out with seven, then people started out with seven, then people started asking about the school and it went up to eleven.

AN: You taught classes by going house to house each day. It was a kind of travelling school...

PARENT: You could say we were on the move.



"THE BASES ARE THE FAMILIES. THE IDEA IS TO GET CHILDREN TO UNDERSTAND THAT THEY ARE GOING TO BE PARTICIPANTS IN THE CULTURE. . .



. . ."WE CONCENTRATE ON GETTING THE WAY OF LIFE ACROSS TO THE CHILDREN, AND EVERYBODY PARTICIPATES THROUGH THE FAMILY."

AN: What does it mean to have a school which is dedicated to conserving culture?

PARENT: The thing people misinterpret is the activity between the language classes. We try to keep our thinking straight on that because it's a Family Day. We used to call it culture day for lack of a better word. Now we call it family day so that the parents do both come. We have two parents who speak the language. The entire family comes because we don't stop at kindergarted, we go down to preschool and toddlers so they're here too and if any of the workers of the family are free, they come too.

AN: People are going to criticize this effort because the children aren't going to receive diplomas and they won't be able to go someplace and get a job. How do people respond to that criticism?

PARENT: That question comes up every time you turn around. The fact is that you have to function in the outside world, its a reality. The children are learning the harder subjects as they would in public school, but they don't have nine subjects to carry everyday. You know – music, art, industrial arts, and so forth. But they have basics, the very basics that they would offer in public school. Children advance in the school. The teachers should talk more about individual instruction. Everyone I run into – I try to tell them that public school is not working. It is obvious that it is not working and that people are dissatisfied with public school because it is just built on money. They don't care if the children learn to read or learn math in second grade. They may be way below their reading level and public school doesn't really care. But in a school like this you do care because it's your child and that's what it's all about – a family–oriented situation. It's hard to call us a school when you really sit down and talk to someone individually because we're trying to make it a way of life as much as we can. That's how I try to answer that question. The children advance here, you know. If someone doesn't like something they have the opportunity to bring it up immediately. If they see something wrong it's their family obligation to correct the situation.

AN: What motivated the peculiar nature of this school? What is there about the Seneca culture that attracts people so strongly so that you go through all the sacrifice, the inconvenience, to teach this to your children?

PARENT: It's really got to do with spirit. That's the reason I took Sheri out of the public school. I haven't had her in Gowanda but a couple of weeks. She went to kindergarten in the public schools. She's gone to three public schools so far. But I went to Gowanda and who knows better than me about Gowanda? Anyway, Sheri has a really good spirit and I want her to [illegible]

AN: Let me reorganize the question. Many other "*Indian Way*" or "*Survival*" schools concentrate on a kind of generic "Indian Way." But there is really no such thing as "Indian" culture in a specific sense. There are specific cultures and languages – Lakota, Navajo, and so forth. This school concentrates on the Seneca Way, and that means that there is a specific Way of Life which can be taught in rather exacting detail. That means to me that the concept of culture isn't something that is idealized, that it is real and that children are exposed to the specifics of that reality. What is there about Seneca culture that is so attractive when its study is first–hand, when it is not idealized, when it is real?

PARENT: The Way of Life, See, we don't gather in a school per se. Each family here participates whether they have children in the school or not. They are still part of a family. The bases are the families. The idea is to get children to understand that they are going to be participants in the culture. They are going to go to the Longhouse and help with the work, because that is what is supposed to be done when we have our doings. That's how things have always been. That's the Way of Life. When we're trying to teach the children the way of Life they have to know their language first, and that's our priority. Everybody – the whole family – should try to learn the language... We've devoted ourselves to getting that language whether it's in the classroom situation, Section IV federal funding, or if it's in a home. Or in a school like this or a meeting place, however we can get it. We concentrate on getting that Way of Life across to the children, and everybody participates through the family. That's what builds the spirit because all these families come together here and practice that understanding of the Way of Life. They go home and do the best they can do in the home to practice that Way of Life.

AN: Then it's not a school, as defined commonly as a place for children to go to be taught some theoretical or practical skill. This is a real effort to be with the children and redefine strength in their families. It's what learning would be if we didn't have schools. It would be like this

SCHOOL CONTINUED NEXT PAGE

with parents and children and everybody...

PARENT: ... School also has another definition – that it's a place of common interest. I think that's a term that stuck in my mind because all of us here have a common interest. We are not relating to the kind of school they do out there. This is the term that's different – we all have a common interest. I decided to take my children out of the public school because of the attitudinal changes that they brought back from Gowanda. The fighting, the teasing, the calling down and that what I taught in my home was not being reenforced. When they come down here (to this school) there's a closeness – I guess it could be termed a social law. They don't tease like they had in Gowanda. They have respect for each other, which you can't find out there. They are getting back to a closeness, a brotherhood again that has been lost where everybody goes their own certain way, not caring about how your neighbor feels or anything.

AN: People are satisfied that there's a visible kind of progress being made towards those goals?

PARENT: Sure, I can see it in my own children. It took a kind of adjustment because they had my oldest son for five years. But he's coming around. I ask the parents, well, is he changing? And it does show at home too because of the reinforcement that they get down here and through the reinforcement that he gets at home. We're not in conflict.

AN: Is it safe to say that the children are getting the basics of an education?

PARENT: It's even better than public school because they aren't being pushed. We don't have to say "Hurry up and get this done." We say, work on it until it gets done and done well. In Gowanda, they are pushing through graduates that can read on a sixth grade level. What good is their diploma if they can't read and write well?

PARENT: The basics aren't as important as all of those other things. The spirit of the Way of Life is more important and the basics are tossed in there. But they are not given (the same importance.) They are importance but not in the way they are over in the public school where those skills are the end all and the be all.

PARENT: There's a balance – we try to bring in a balance. A balance of the Way of life and still develop their skills because we know eventually they have to have those skills. So we try to provide them with not just survival skills but to produce people who can read and write and express themselves and survive in an outside situation.

PARENT: We're stereotyped. (Others) believe that we're keeping our children inside the reservation. Our children go to Buffalo, they travel more miles than the average Gowanda student. And they are in the public library a lot sooner than a Gowanda student would be there, developing skills in how to utilize the library or a public facility. If they can use those facilities when they are ten or twelve, even seven or eight, they are not going to be failures when they are twenty and in the city looking for a job.

PARENT: We want our children to utilize basic skills.

PARENT: We worry about basic skills on Monday and Thursdays. The other days we don't worry about that stuff.

AN: What people have articulated is that first, people have decided to take action because they wanted to strengthen their family life, and secondly what they look to as that strengthener of family is this Seneca culture or Way of Life. What they did was come together with their families to learn that process and also to interact with one another on a whole new basis, getting a whole new spirit of interaction. What is emerging out of that is that the children are learning, that people are satisfied that their behavior, their socialization, is moving along very well. By the way, that's the first time that I've ever heard that articulated – goals that were not goals for the children but for the family, which I think is a very important point to make. I don't know of anywhere where the family has taken it upon themselves to become stronger by making learning a family activity. In most places, schools are designed to replace that function of the family.

PARENT: This is the first opportunity that I've ever had to have a say in the childrens' education, and to be right there. You can be there everyday if you want to, and this is one of the reasons I quit my job. I realized that I wanted to be with my children and it's a really important time. I got to thinking about their lives, what kind of lives they had. I always had a babysitter when they got home. But that's not the same thing as being there when they get off the school bus. It's a real important time for the parents to be there, one of them at least. When I started coming here to school with children there was a change. They said, "Gee it's nice having you around Ma." A lot of times we get on each other's nerves, but that's only natural. I can see them growing. It's a really, really good feeling.... I think the best thing that has come out of this for all of us is the peacefullness. We don't look at the clocks anymore. Some things you have to do on time... The ladies in the Longhouse tell me that someday you're not going to need a clock, someday you're not even going to think about a clock. You just know when things have to be done and you do them and that's it.

AN: When you *restart* something, it's different from simply starting. If everyone spoke Seneca and went to the Longhouse, if they grew up in it all their lives and as they got older they learned songs and how to do the ceremonies, they really wouldn't have to put much effort into it. That's really different from someone who didn't grow up in it and really has to strive, to struggle to find way to learn. The teachings of Handsome Lake are probably the most strict of any surviving body of codes or teachings in all the world, not just the Native world. It doesn't leave a lot to the imagination, and it's almost totally different from "Indian Movement things". Gaiwiio involves specific rules of behavior, and requires an accountability to the Creator. In a way, your effort is going to be a test. Whether things that happen here work will be graded, in a sense, by the test of time. Whether this project continues on and grows will be determined by how well it meets peoples' needs. You've been here for two years, and you've just begun. What you're apparently talking about here is revitalization of a whole Way of Life. That will require teaching a whole group of people to put through the ceremonies of the Longhouse and that has to take at least ten years – it could take forty. What are your personal goals behind that kind of activity. What will you expect to come out of all this, besides all the work involved?

* * *

PARENT: Satisfaction of serving the Creator. It's taken us a long time to really come to that point. It took me 17 years and now I can see we are totally into Gaiwiio. It just gives you a real satisfaction to live that life. It's a completely different Way of Life. There are so many things now that don't matter. Our children are happy. For the first time this year, Lance sang Adonwhe. Leslie knows the Moon Ceremony songs. She amazes me all the things her little brain has picked up, things that she knows that we have to learn – she already knows. Her idol is Mrs. Green and she is learning so much. She's picking things up. Something has come to her from going to the Longhouse. She went to the Longhouse even when Lee and I didn't. She and Lance were always over there for all the ceremonies. The children went there and they have picked up a Way of Life and I know that they are going to do their darndest to make sure it goes on. This is a complete Way of Life to us.

AN: What is there in peoples' belief about the instructions of the Creator that impels you to this course of action? Why is this the right thing to do?

PARENT: Because of the Life. The Life of the Seneca. That was one of the first things the students learned last year. How to pronounce it, what it meant, and all the things that are in that instruction. But not to just do it to get it done, but to do it because you believe in the Spirit of the Strawberries. I tell my daughter not to go to the Longhouse unless she feels good about doing it. If she doesn't feel good about doing it, she should either stay home or sit on the bench. If she doesn't feel the thanksgiving for the strawberries.... That's one of the signs in the teachings, that it's coming close that this earth is not going to carry on. It's not healthy and we're not taking care of it. To me, one of the reasons that I wanted to start a school from my family point of view is because I felt that there was so much to learn and we don't have the time because the children are in school and we are at work.

A lot of times we talk in school about how they should not be bored picking wild onions because we picked them last year, and the year before. It shouldn't be a boring thing, but a refreshing thing that they are still here. We should give thanks for the harvest. There's just so much to learn from one yearly cycle. Learn basic things the first time around and the next year learn a bit more. It may take forty years. I think it will take until the day you go to your grave. Another reason this school was started is because it was clear that the old people are passing away. We don't have much more tome to be worrying about reading, writing and arithmetic, you know. There's a couple of people in the School – maybe more than a couple, I can't speak for others – that if reading, writing and arithmetic were eliminated it wouldn't be a loss. If they're going to survive, someone will help them survive, they're not going to be illiterate, they won't be ignorant. When Lance did Adonweh, Edie and I just took the sweat off our brows because no one else down there knew how. And he didn't have any practice, he just did it. So that's what our school's about. We did it. We're doing it. We didn't sit around for two or three years planning, trying to get funding, trying to get a director who could direct us and figure out what is proper or improper. We just did it. And we felt that if we didn't do it, we would lose one more year. One more year would go by and our children would be cheerleaders or something like that that just didn't have anything to do with our Ways.

AN: It's clear to me now that the answers to the question I was going to ask about how this school will survive and how you're going to fund it is – however. You don't have a plan, don't need one. It'll survive somehow.

PARENT: You want to buy a raffle tacket?

PARENT: How about a dinner ticket?

PARENT: I think that we were just meant to be because somehow people openly supported the school. We sell spaghetti dinners, AKWESASNE NOTES Calendars. Whatever we decided to do people said, well, yeah, I'll buy one or we'll give you a social, we'll raise some money for you. Sure, we want to write proposals for funding, but it's secondary to keeping this school moving and breathing.

AN: Have people thought about the possibility that these young people could grow up wanting to change the world they are living in in some very specific ways? Already I can hear you parents saying that we changed our values when we realized we were chasing things that weren't important. Now here you've got a family operation and these young people are going to see change, only they should be much more familiar with the realities of this culture much earlier than you were. They should know by the time they are fifteen or sixteen what you found out when you were a dozen years older than that.

PARENT: Well, we're trying to live by the Gaiwiio in the school as much as we possibly can. I know a lot of people must think I'm crazy, because I don't speak the language. But the Gaiwiio has so many specifics about how you treat your children, how you treat each other, and I think that is integrated in this school.

PARENT: But that's not what he was asking. He was asking what will Pete and Lance and Leslie do when they are twenty–four years old. They've got all this learning. Are they going to use it? I wonder if this teaching will hang on and teach them not only to teach their children, but to develop a community of the Haudenosaunee.

PARENT: An expansion of our community, an expansion of our family.

PARENT: Yes, we're thinking about that.

* * *

(The Indian Way School at Cattaraugus has been supported entirely from community fund–raising activities, and they haven't developed a proposal and gone out into the world seeking funding. What is needed is money for a building to house the school, and to meet operating expenses on a day–by– day basis. Donations to their effort can be sent to:

Ogwahowaykah Henodeystah
P.O. Box 197
Brant, New York 14027

Letters of support and offers of any kind of materials (paper, school supplies) would also be gratefully received.)

The Pending Energy Wars

AMERICA'S FINAL ACT OF GENOCIDE

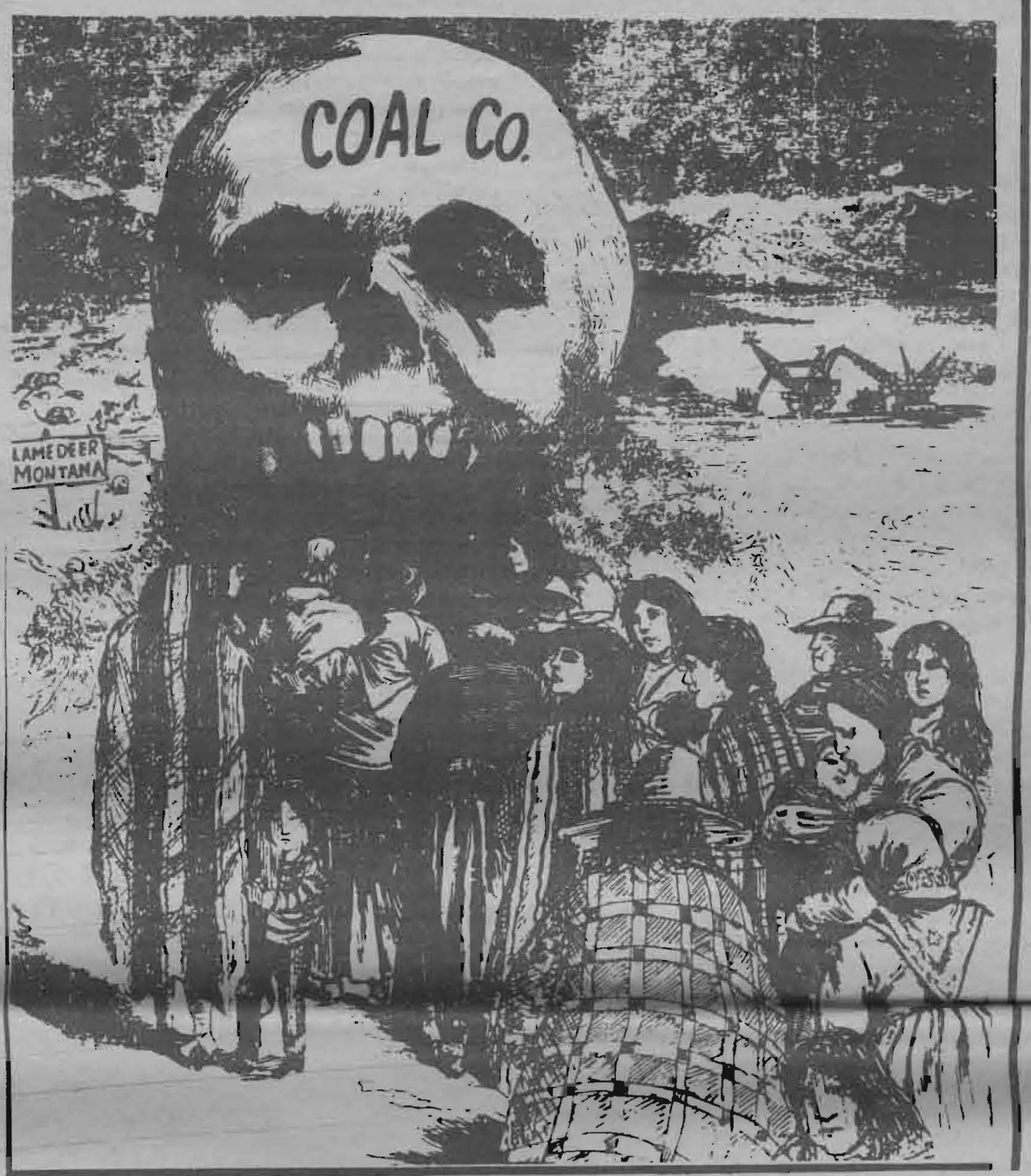
by Michael Garitty

Early in 1973 three events took place that at the time did not seem closely related. Richard Nixon released the specifics of his "Project Independence", David Rockefeller and Zibigniew Brzezinski formed the Trilateral Commission, and the FBI, US Marshalls and Air Force troops surrounded Wounded Knee, South Dakota as members of the Lakota Nation and American Indian Movement fought to end the white man's hold on their traditional homeland. Today the interrelated nature of these events is clear given the knowledge of the structure and goals of the Trilateral Commission and the recent Carter energy proposal.

The three events listed above took place as the US was being forced to retreat from its once accepted role as world policeman. That role was being reshaped and would never be the same again.

Around the same time the US was kicked out of SE Asia, the Arabs had the western world over a barrel of crude, Nixon made an opening to China without consulting a close ally – Japan. Treasury Secretary John Connelly removed the gold backing from the dollar and left it to float aimlessly on the troubled waters of the world's financial markets, and worldwide imposition of import controls hit the transnational banking and corporate interests harder than they had ever been hit.

An immediate response to this restructuring was for Rockefeller and Brzezinski to act to prevent a recurrence of these unsettling events. Some crisis management was hurriedly brought to bear on the situation and a "community of developed nations" was born.



This "community" has come to be known as the Trilateral Commission. In July 1973 Brzezinski left his job at Columbia University to become director of the Commission and begin choosing the approximately 250 men and four women who would constitute the closest thing possible to a board of directors for the world. The team was picked from among the most influential executives of the most important corporations and financial institutions in the US, Western Europe and Japan. Also included were members of the press, labor leaders and politicians on the make. Their charge was to set up a strategy to make the western world as free from dependence on the vast mineral resources of the Third World as was humanly possible. For the US, the strategy developed and currently being implemented by the Carter energy program calls for imperialism to come home to roost. Unfortunately for the indigenous peoples of the Americas the chicken has made its nest right in the middle of the Northern Great Plains and Rocky Mountain States.

The forerunner of the Carter energy plan and the first vehicle for restructuring the industrial might of the US was "Project Independence". David Rockefellar and Richard Nixon can hardly be described as close friends and David worked as hard as anybody to get rid of RMN, but Nixon's plan for energy independence fit right in with David and Zibigniew's recipe for a healthy and ever–expanding capitalism. With "Project Independence" the old industrial North was going to be left behind in the pollution and acid rain (see article on page 25) while the industrial might of the nation would be heading for the sunny, mineral rich and non–unionized West and Northern Great Plains. A major restructuring of the social, economic and cultural base of the Midwest was planned and about to begin. "Project Independence" elaborated the policy that a national energy crisis necessitated the stripping of western coal on a crash basis. Carter's program carries this to an illogical extreme.

When "Project Independence" was issued it projected a ten–fold increase in thegeneration of nuclear power from 1973 to 1985, coal production was to expand from 600 to 960 million tons per year, oil production was to expand from 10.9 to 14 million barrels per day, and expansion of natural gas production for 23 to 27 trillion cubic feet per year. The plan also contained "a major leasing program for mineral rights to Federal lands involving 10 million acres per year by 1978." This decision was all that was needed to provide government and corporate decision–makers with a rationale for immediate "development" of the vast fossil fuels in the largely rural and sparsely populated west. With the coming of the Energy Mobilization Board, the energy conglomerates are now dusting off their long–dormant, massive oil shale and synthetic fuel projects. In Wyoming, Atlantic Richfield (ARCO), Gulf Oil, Panhandle Eastern Pipeline Co. and Texaco are pushing their schemes for coal gasification. In Montana, Burlington Northern (largest holder of coal reserves in the nation with 14.7 billion tons of recoverable reserves of bituminous, sub–bituminous, and lignite), Tenneco, Utah International Inc., Gulf, and Mobil Oil are doing the same. In Colorado, Occidental Petroleum, Gulf Oil, Superior Oil, Standard Oil of Indiana, Union Oil of California, Colony Oil, and Mobil Corporation are all looking for shale that could produce as much as 1.5 billion barrels of oil. In North Dakota, American Natural Resources Co. has been pushing a 125 million cupic–foot–per–day gasification plant near Beulah, North Dakota for years. The EMB may be just what these and other energy exploiting corporations need to begin their final assault on the treasure trove underlying the Northern Great Plains and Rocky Mountain States.

Already the result of the "Project Independence" mandate has been vast underground and surface coal and uranium mines, coal–fired electrical generating plants, experimental coal gasification plants, oil, natural gas, water and coal–slurry pipelines and a myriad other activities now planned, under construction or in operation in and around obscure communities throughout the West. A significant number of these projects are on Indian lands guaranteed sovereign by almost 400 Treaties. Treaties which are the law of the land according to the US Constitution.

The reason the "development" is taking place on Indian lands and other Federal lands is because the land is cheap. Production costs are cut and profits are increased. The Council of Energy Resources Tribes (CERT), a Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) and Tribal Council concoction, estimates that the 23 western Indian Nations who make up CERT control 33% of the country's low sulphur strippable coal reserves, 80% of the nation's uranoum, and 3 to 10% of the oil and gas reserves. As of 1974, only 23.5% of oil and gas leases, 36% of coal leases and fewer than 1% of uranium leases on Indian lands were producing. That leaves a lot of resources just waiting to be torn out of the ground. In 1977, 23 million tons of coal were taken from Indian lands, representing 3.3% of all coal mined in the U.S.. Coal is there in abundant quantities on the Northern Cheyenne, Crow, Blackfoot, Navajo and Hopi lands. It is also found on the Fort Berthold, Wind River, Fort Peck and Fort Belnap Reservations. (I will use the word reservation as little as possible since it is the most obvious example of the colonial treatment of the Indian People by the US Government. A reservation is not the same as an Indian Nation. The Great Sioux Nation is now composed of only seven reservations, mostly in South Dakota.)

The state of the Indian Nations in relation to the multi–nationals (they call themselves transnationals because they transcend national boundaries) is the same, only worse, as for any nation in the third world. Pressing economic needs, high unemployment, the need for immediate cash, and the general state of dependency on the multi–nationals leads to a spiralling of the economic syndrome so common to the third world: the

ENERGY WARS CONTINUED

rich are getting more and more and the poor are getting less and less. The Indian Nations are put in the unenviable position of having their very survival as a People placed in the hands of men who will steal their water and birthright and leave their lands plundered and radioactive.

BIG OIL CORNERS THE ENERGY MARKET

Following the OPEC oil embargo and the "energy crisis" of 1973 the coal and uranium reserves in the US became dominated by a small number of firms. The energy giants whose directors sit on the Trilateral Commission began swallowing the smaller firms or driving those who wouldn't cooperate out of business.

In testimony before the Senate Subcommittee on Antitrust, Monopoly and Business Rights on May 22, 1979, S. David Freeman, Chairman of the Board of the Tennessee Valley Authority summarized the situation as follows:

TVA operates the Nation's largest electric generating system. In fiscal year 1978, 60% of our power came from coal–fired generating plants and 12% from nuclear. We burned 36 million tons of coal last year – about 5% of national production. As we finish the nuclear units we have under construction, we expect to be using 6 to 7 million pounds of uranium per year by the late 1980's.

...TVA's average coal costs jumped from less than $5 per ton in 1970 to more than $24 in 1978 ...TVA's fuel cost of a billion last year accounted for more than half of our total generating expense (almost $900 million of that was for coal).

Increasing oil company dominance of uranium and coal is not just an academic matter to TVA. TVA actually buys coal and uranium; we actually see the changes in bargaining strength when our independent fuel suppliers are acquired by the energy companies; and we have felt the tremendous injury caused by skyrocketing coal and uranium prices.

In coal, prior to the early 1960's, oil companies did not generally own coal or coal companies. Today, however, energy companies own about 100 billion tons of coal reserves. Continental Oil has 13.7 billion tons of reseves; Exxon has 10 billion tons; Phillips Petroleum has 8 billion tons; El Paso Natural Gas has 5.2 billion tons; and 12 of the top 13 oil companies control a total of 57.5 billion tons of coal reserves. 6 of the top 15 national coal producers are now owned by major oil companies and only 2 of the first 15 are independent companies. Continental Oil owns the second largest national producer, Consolidation Coal, with production of 47.9 million tons in 1977, Standard Oil of California owns a 20% interest in AMAX, the third largest producer, Occidental Petroleum owns Island Creek, the fourth largest producer; Ashland Oil and Hunt Petroleum own Arch Mineral, the seventh largest producer; Standard Oil of Ohio owns the 13th largest producer, Old Ben Coal; Pittsburg & Midway Coal Mining, the 15th largest producer is owned by Gulf.

The top four firms in (the Northern Great Plains) control over ½ of (the) market's production. Oil companies account for 38% of the (coal) production from the Northern Great Plains. Standard Oil of California (through AMAX), Ashland Oil, Continental Oil, Gulf (through an interest in Westmoreland Resource), Sun, and Exxon are all major producers in this market.

In uranium today 12 oil companies own over 600 million pounds of domestic uranium reserves. The Library of Congress report, Petroleum Industry Involvement in Alternate Sources of Energy, *prepared for the Senate Subcommittee on Energy Research and Development in September 1977 states 'oil companies now own almost 50% of the known US reserves of uranium ore thought available at prices of $30 per pound or less, and possibly 70% of the reserves available at $15 per pound' (at III). Kerr–McGee, the biggest reserve owner, holds 139 million pounds of reserves; Gulf owns over 103 million pounds; Exxon owns 100 million pounds; ARCO owns over 56 million pounds; Mobil, Continental Oil, Getty, Union Oil, Phillips Petroleum, Reserve Oil & Minerals, Standard Oil of California, and Standard Oil of Ohio also own substantial uranium reserves. Five big petroleum firms now control over half the Nation's existing milling capacity. Kerr–McGee owns 18% of existing domestic milling capacity ;ARCO has 15%; Exxon has 8%; Continental Oil has 7%; Standard Oil of Ohio has 4%.*

The concentrated structure of the coal and uranium markets can adversely affect both fuel prices and supplies. Coal and uranium prices are likely to be higher than costs plus a reasonable profit and therefore higher than necessary. Worse, the same group of energy companies which dominate the coal markets also dominate the uranium market. Atlantic Richfield, (ARCO), Continental Oil, Exxon, Gulf, Mobil Oil, Phillips Petroleum, Shell, Standard Oil of California, Standard Oil of Ohio, Sun, and Texaco are each oil companies with major coal reserves or production interest as well as substantial uranium holdings. Thus, power consumers may even be deprived of the potential benefits of price and supply competition between those two competing fuels.

THE AGRICULTURAL LIFEBLOOD OF THE COUNTRY'S HEARTLAND IS BEING SLOWLY DRAWN OUT AS THE LAND IS BOUGHT BY MINING OR AGRI–BUSINESS INTERESTS. AGRICULTURE HAS BEEN TRANSFORMED FROM A LABOR–INTENSIVE TO A CAPITAL–INTENSIVE INDUSTRY – MACHINES REPLACE HUMANS."

The results of what David Freeman described can be seen in the Northern Great Plains and the Rocky Mountain States.

Not only has the industry been consolidated and monopolized by a few oil companies, and technology revolutionized, but the actual mining is shifting from underground to strip, from Appalachia to the Great Plains and Rocky Mountains.

In stripmining, output per day is 100% greater than in underground mining, average recovery 60% higher, and operating costs 30% lower. Inexpensive coal stripmining is particularly attractive to utilities faced with increased demand and ever on the lookout for new and unique ways to gouge a few more dollars from their consumers. One problem presented by western coal is that it is lower in BTU value than the eastern coal.

The Bureau of Mines and the Office of Coal Research have been and will continue on an expanded basis allocating grants to US energy giants to explore techniques developed in Germany in the 1940s for gasification and liquefication of coal and thereby lower the transportation costs for the industry. The railroads, particularly Burlington Northern, frown on this welfare since it would eliminate one of their most lucrative forms of capitalization.

The western US is the perfect place (according to the corporations and the government) to try this new technology. More than 90% of the low–sulphur coal reserves of the US are found there, over half in the massive Fort Union Coal Formation of Wyoming, very close to the surface. Of the low–sulphur reserves accessible to stripmining, 87% are in Wyoming, Montana, New Mexico and North Dakota. Much of this coal is on land owned by the Federal Government and Indian Nations. The Mineral Leasing Act of 1920 and the Omnibus Tribal Leasing Act of 1938 authorized the Federal Government, through the Secretary of the Interior and the BIA, to

lease public and Indian lands and mineral rights to private corporations. By 1973, the Federal Government had leased 680,854 acres of public and 258,754 acres of Indian land, containing over 20 billion tons of coal, to the corporations. Leasing halted in 1973 and did not begin again until late spring of 1979, because there was criticism of the fact that 70% of the land leased was going to only 15 multi–national oil companies – Shell, Sun, ARCO, Gulf, Exxon, Mobil, etc. The ban was lifted by Secretary of the Interior Cecil Andrus.

The agricultural lifeblood of the country's heartland is being slowly drawn out as the land is bought by mining or agri–business interests. The residents of western farming and ranching regions have watched as the feed–lots dominate the cattle–fattening business, enormous grain corporations determine the size of their mortgages, and they become more and more isolated from regional urban markets. Agriculture has been transformed from a labor–intensive to a capital–intensive industry – machines replace humans. The major force that is pushing people from rural regions to urban areas is economic, even though agriculture has expanded to serve an ever–growing population, the expansion has benefitted an ever smaller group of farmers and corporate giants.

The concentration of capital in the nation's 130 largest corporations, which control $1 trillion in assets – of the holdings of the 2 million US corporations – in large part determines the underdevelopment of the rural areas such as the Great Plains and Rocky Mountain States. These corporations, located in New York, Chicago, Houston and Los Angeles influence political decisions and market operations through their power of capitalization, food marketing trusts, and enormous energy industries. Interlocking boards of directors provide horizontal links between corporations in different industries, as well as financial institutions. The 30 largest industrial companies, 20 biggest banks, 20 largest life–insurance companies, 20 largest utilities, 20 largest transportation companies, 10 biggest diversified and 10 largest retailers have a total of 530 direct interlocks. There are over 12,000 indirect interlocks among these 130 corporations. In all, 123 of 130 corporations connect with half the other companies.

The vast quantities of energy resources in the Great Plains and Rocky Mountains hold out a false promise of economic and social recovery for the rural residents. But where the energy projects have located, at places like Gillette, Rock Springs and Green River, Wyoming; Colstrip, Montana; Craig, Colorado and the Four Corners area of Utah, Arizona, New Mexico and Colorado, boom–town growth has revealed just how empty the promise has been. The ownership and corporate offices of the mines, mills and transportation systems are always located outside the resource and plant area, and most often in the major financial centers of the US. The energy is delivered to cities many hundreds of miles away, while land blight, increased water scarcity, and increased water and air pollution have become standard features of the landscape of the energy–rich resource areas. During the development stage, jobs are temporary, most often awarded to transient, skilled employees who leave at the end of the construction phase. Local sewers, roads, lighting systems, schools, teachers, police/fire and the like are grossly inadequate as are stores, recreation facilities, housing and other community services. The transient workers, who swell the towns five, ten or twenty times pre–boom size, develop little care or concern for the town or its people. They live in mobile homes or house trailers and buy their food, clothing and entertainment in larger distant cities. The corporations responsible for the energy "development" assume none of these costs; rather they are borne by residents through bond liquidation by local property taxes. Local residents are never involved in the planning phases of pending energy "development," and they are never accurately told of the human, social, fiscal and

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" THE BUREAU OF RECLAMATION PROPOSES TO MAKE AVAILABLE FOR ENERGY–RELATED INDUSTRIAL PURPOSES UP TO 1 MILLION ACRE-FEET OF WATER ANNUALLY FROM MAIN-STREAM MISSOURI RIVER RESERVOIRS. THERE WON'T BE A DROP OF WATER ANYWHRRE NEAR THE NORTHERN GREAT PLAINS BY THE YEAR 2035."

environmental costs inherent in the "development." The corporations and their managers use something called cost–benefit analysis as a standard tool of capitalist development economics that transforms all costs into dollars. The significance of focusing on a cost–benefit analysis is that house–hold economics, local economics, community structures, politics, religion, history and the expectations of local residents receive little analysis. The result is a shift from social to economic and technological considerations, and from the local communities and regions to metropolitan areas and the operations of national and multi–national corporations. The Indian residents and original landlords get the same treatment by the corporations, only in spades.

Now with Carter's energy plan and his EMB, the western U.S. is going to feel the impact of lemming–capitalism at work as the corporations in quest for more and more money sever and destroy their link with the land that sustains them. They are committing ecological suicide and taking all of us with them.

THE NORTH CENTRAL POWER STUDY

Two years before the issuance of Project Independence a document was released with little ceremony which has since been called "the essence of Project Independence." While what was planned in the broadest sense was called Project Independence, it was specific only in the assertion that the US was to be independent of reliance on imported fuel sources by 1985. In October of 1971 the specifics were already being worked out and published. The document containing this information was entitled *The North Central Power Study.*

This study was conducted under the supervision of Assistant Secretary of the Interior James R. Smith and it was the end product of research of representatives of "19 investor–owned public utilities, six cooperatives, two public power districts, one Federal, and eight municipal representatives." It drew on the "technical expertise and the views of practically all bulk power suppliers in the 1,000,000 square mile area." When Assistant Secretary Smith met with the executives of the major power suppliers of the North Central United States the idea he wished to have investigated was the "feasibility of constructing large mine–mouth thermal plants located in the substantial coalfields just east of the Rocky Mountains and, by the use of extra–high–voltage transmission lines, deliver economic power to major load centers." The conclusion of the report was that, yes, it could be done and should be done. The report glossed over any detrimental environmental aspects of the project. The actual report concerned itself entirely with coal and proposed the stripping of the vast coal reserves on the Northern Great Plains as well as the construction of massive 10,000 megawatt coal–fired generating plants. The plants were to be "mine–mouth" which translated as a plant located right next to the underground source of its fuel. In all, it proposed 42 new coal–fired generating plants, 13 of which would be 10,000 megawatts. In addition, the NCPS suggested a massive network of transmission lines, radiating outward from the plants to Seattle, Portland, Oregon, Minneapolis – St. Paul and a dozen other cities in as many states. These transmission lines it suggested further, were to be 765 kilovolt lines, "for best economy" for the eastern system and 500 kv for the smaller western system. A 765 kilovolt line carries 765,000 volts.

Of the 42 plants, 21 were sited in eastern Montana, 15 in Wyoming (11 of those were to be 10,000 megawatts – 5 times bigger than any plant now in existence), 5 in North Dakota and one each in South Dakota and Colorado.

But to run these leviathans would take more water than was available in the semi–arid environment of the Northern Great Plains. Maybe they had just forgotten about water with visions of all those dollar signs flashing in front of their eyes. But they hadn't. The *North Central Power Study* was followed by the *Montana–Wyoming Aqueduct Study*, which according to Kenneth Toole in *The Rape of the Great Plains* "delineated potential reservoirs, major water conveyance conduits, minor water conveyance conduits, potential hydropeaking statistics, river flows at high and low water in acre–feet, pumping station locations, and the unit cost of water delivered to a given area." In research for the book, Professor Toole encountered bureaucrat after bureaucrat, and utility executive after utility executive who insisted the *NCPS* was obsolete. They called it "inoperative" in perfect Nixonian. Professor Toole saw it otherwise.

> *...The NCPS took a solid year of hardheaded calculation and hard work by management representatives from 19 investor–owned utilities, six corporations, two public power districts, and one federal and eight municipal representatives. It represented a vast lot of work on the part of Assistant Secretary of the Interior James R. Smith, and it is there, reduced in scope, no doubt, and with alterations and mitigations, but it is still there.*

This "inoperative document was followed in 1972 by a Bureau of Reclamation study titled *Appraisal Report on Montana–Wyoming Aqueducts.* In 1973 *Coal Development in Eastern Montana: A Situation Report of the Montana Coal Task Force* was released. In 1974 another report was published that dealt with the small economies and energy development of the Northern Great Plains. Its title was *A Study of Filed and Use–Appropriated Water Rights in Portions of the Yellowstone Basin in Montana.* All of these fit nicely into the basic premise of the *NCPS.*

In 1976 it was the draft study entitled *Water for Energy* that furthered the goals of the inoperative *NCPS.* It studied the impact "caused by depletion of 1 million acre–feet of water on the main–stem Missouri River system." It concluded that "maximum potential industrial development by the year 2000 would disturb 188,000 acres of land; about 131,000 acres for mining, and the rest for facilities sites, pipelines, and transportation routes."

It went on to state:

> *Continued operation at this maximum hypothetical level would disturb an additional 23,000 acres per year with at least temporary losses of agricultural production and wildlife. Surface and ground water quality would be degraded in the mine areas and the shallow aquifers may be permanently disrupted. Air quality in the areas of water use would violate Federal Class I and Class II significant deterioration limits. By year 2000 an estimated 195,000 new jobs would be created. Primary and secondary support population required is estimated to be about 565,000, requiring in–migration of 507,000 people. The existing community service system would have to be greatly increased to accommodate the needs of the increased population. Wildlife habitat would be disturbed by stripmining and construction of facilities. Habitat losses would be significant and although the habitat itself could be partially restored, certain species would not return to present numbers because of changes in the habitat base and increased human activities.*

Where was all this planned to take place and why?

> *The Bureau of Reclamation proposes to make available for energy related industrial purposes up to 1.0 million acre–feet of water annually from main–stem Missouri River reservoirs. The anticipated areas of water use include eastern Montana, western North Dakota, parts of western and central South Dakota, and northwestern Wyoming. Water service contracts would be issued for 40 years or less, with water delivery terminating no later than the year 2035.*

There won't be a drop of water anywhere near the Northern Great Plains fit to drink by the year 2035. The *Water for Energy* paper was a little more generous with the water of the area. The *Montana–Wyoming Aqueduct Study* only gave the area's water resources thirty years or less, as does Professor Toole. The fact that most of the water being looked at was Indian water guaranteed by treaty was not mentioned.

The *Water for Energy* study is a plan for ecological catastrophe. It also is laying out the next installment of the white man's five hundred year campaign of genocide against the indigenous peoples of this continent. It predicts the disappearance of the Indian way of life. It

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Phillip Deere addresses gathering of traditional peoples at 1979 meeting at Big Mountain in the Hopi–Navajo country.

"THERE IS A LOT THEIR MONEY CAN BUY, BUT IT CAN'T REPAIR RAVAGED SOIL. THE WESTERN UNITED STATES IS A COMPLEX AND FRAGILE ENVIRONMENT. THE ARROGANCE OF THE MEN WHO PRIDE THEMSLEVES ON THEIR IGNORANCE OF THE LAND THEY ARE RIPPING APART IS UNBELIEVABLE."

also sees an end to Indian People's "special relationship with the land." The effects of the report on the Native American would "contribute to bringing Indians into the mainstream of American life." Just what they wanted. The rest of the Table simply states how the race will be destroyed. Devastation of the land and the creatures that call it home isn't enough. The Indian has to be gotten rid of. Although in the report it is euphemistically referred to as "disappearance or loss of tribal cultural heritage/values (cultural degradation). . . same thing.

Water for Energy was followed by the *Report on the Western Energy Expansion Study* in 1977 and the *Report and Environmental Assessment: Yellowstone River Basin and Adjacent Coal Area Level B Study* in 1978. The Level B Study predicts a doubling of coal production for the northwest Wyoming area by the year 2000 with at least 41 coal mines in operation. And this was before Carter's energy speech and the Energy Mobilization Board. In short the study was nothing more than a continuation and update of the original *NCPS* of 1971. No matter what the corporations and government agencies call it they can't avoid the obvious. They are laying out a plan for the environmental destruction of the Northern Great Plains.

What the energy exploiting corporations plan to do in the area is use machines that will tear up more than 250,000 of fragile Plains soil in the next 30 years. They will do this with enormous machines called draglines (space age steam shovels). These machines are as tall as 16 story buildings, weigh 27 million pounds, and can move 220 cubic yards (325 tons) of "overburden" (otherwise known as wildlife habitat, cropland or home) in a single pass. It can scoop a full load every minute it is in operation. They are electric and use enough electricity to fully power a city the size of Rapid City, South Dakota. On the average, the machine will have to rip down through 100 or 150 feet of "overburden" just to uncover the coal seams of the Great Plains.

The energy companies plan to use every drop of water they can locate in the semi–arid regions that bear most of the nation's mineral wealth. Their plans do not allow for expansion of irrigation projects. They say they plan to use as much as 10 to 35 million acre–feet of water a year in the Northern Great Plains alone. How much water is that?The Missouri River only has 18½ million acre–feet flowing through it each year. They also plan to ring the area with powerlines carrying electricity to and from the immense generating plants. What will a 765 kilovolt line do to the people and other living things in the vicinity? The farmers of northwestern Minnesota think they have a pretty good idea. That's why they have toppled 9 towers so far and have shot out over glass insulators along the line. Some contend that the high–voltage lines will shrivel crops, prevent seeds from germinating, stop corn from reaching fruition, cause spontaneous abortions in livestock, stop cows from giving milk, cause headaches, exhaustion, skin irritation, nosebleeds in humans and cause wildlife to leave the area completely when the line is in operation. Anything metal becomes electrified and shocks are common. The farmers say they know when the line is in operation just by looking to see if their horses and cows are roaming free in the pastures or huddled as far as they can get away from the lines. The right–of–way for one of these giants is wider than a football field is long and they will ultimately criss–cross the nation unless stopped.

But until the powerlines are built and in operation, the coal will be removed by rail. Huge trucks carry the coal stripmined from the land and dump it into 100–car coal trains. Each car can carry 100 tons of coal.

This is just the beginning. Again from the *Rape of the Great Plains:*

For if the nearly 100 coal and energy companies – and the Department of the Interior – now deeply involved in the exploitation of plains coal have their way, the huge area known as the Northern Great Plains will have to be renamed "A National Sacrifice Area..."

The energy exploiting companies claim they will see to the reclamation of the land after they have stripmined it. But how are they going to reclaim the fragile soils of the West and Mid–West where the rainfall is often at or below 10 inches a year? The corporations do not have it within their power to duplicate the infinitely complex series of relationships between a thin topsoil, seeds, wind velocity, rates of humidity, the seasonality of moisture, temperature, evaporation, insects, rodents and mammals. There's a lot their money can buy, but it can't repair ravaged soil. The western US is a complex and fragile environment. The arrogance of the men who pride themselves on their ignorance of the land they are ripping apart is unbelievable.

To see what has happened in the past few decades in the American west, and to see what impact the energy "development" has had on the Indian Nations in the way of the machinery necessitates a closer look at the coal and uranium industry in this country and the government collusion which allows the plunder to continue.

COAL

According to the Department of Energy (DOE) the US currently has recoverable coal reserves of 390 billion tons from 600 operating coal mines (scattered throughout two–thirds of the continental US), 112 - 189 billion barrels of oil and 761 – 1094 trillion cubic feet of natural gas. In 1977 US coal production was 689 million tons. In a recent *Mining Congress Journal* it was estimated that western coal production could reach 1.5 billion tons by the end of the century. Eastern production will increase at the same time to one billion tons. The number of miners could increase by 45% to 100% from current employment of 205,000 (140,000 deep mine and 65,000 strip).

These projections are from the Energy Modeling Forum, which is sponsored by the Electric Power Research Institute for Energy Studies. The Forum operates *ad hoc* working groups consisting of about 35 analysts and policymakers from universities, government and industry. These groups analyze and compare the projections of the major energy models used by electric utilities and others involved in energy analysis and policy decisions. The projections then represent what government and the corporations would like to see and will attempt to make a reality unless stopped. The figures by no means represent actual need projections.

ROBERTA BLACKGOAT of Big Mountain is one of the organizers of the march in support of Navajo JUA residents.

The figures cited above can only increase after Carter's energy speeches of July 15 and 16. Carter wants the US to be producing 2.5 billion barrels of synthetic oil a day from coal by 1990. Even the oil industry thinks this is a little unreasonable as do a growing number of Congressmen. To produce only one million barrels of synthetic fuel from coal, would mean increasing production by 160 million tons a year or a 23% increase over current levels.

Mel Horwich, a member of the research staff that put together *Energy Future, Report of the Energy Project of the Harvard Business School*, feels that Carter's synthetic fuel goals involve "serious risks to the nation in a variety of areas: inefficient use of funds, hazards to the environment, and . . . a future wholesale disillusionment with the synthetic fuels option. . . as it becomes clear that the grandiose promises we hear today will not be met." He goes on to say "perhaps by 1990 we will be producing the oil equivalent of 250,000 to 500,000 barrels per day of synthetic fuel."

Harry Perry, an expert on coal and synthetic fuels, who worked on the research team that produced the recent Resources for the Future study, *Energy in America's Future*, speculates that as a practical matter, even without an all–out synfuels effort, the production capacity that could be brought on line by 1990 would not exceed 500,000 barrels a day. A colleague of Perry's on the study, Milton Russell, takes an even more skeptical view of Carter's proposal.

In a speech before the American Enterprise Institute, he described some of the problems inherent in a crash synfuel program:

Synfuel plants are very large enterprises – a 50,000 BPD (barrel per day) coal liquefaction or gasification plant will cost, at a minimum, over 2 billion dollars and use several times as much coal as the largest electric generating plant. And no one has ever built one at this scale. And we are talking about building 20 to 30 of them in the next 10 years assuming that 1 to 1½ MBPD (million barrels per day) will come from coal. Another set of plants using essentially the same heavy construction and engineering skills and the same industrial base will be required for the oil shale program. . . . We do not have unemployed managers, skilled laborers, and production equipment to utilize as we did with war production in 1941. The managers, engineers, and laborers will have to be trained or diverted from other activities, and new plants will have to be built to produce the equipment going into the synthetic fuels plants. . . . Some of these steps (and others, such as selecting sites and obtaining environmental approvals) can be compressed, but, taken together, the prospects for anything like 2.5 MBPD by 1990 seem to me slim unless as a nation we decide nothing much else is important.

Perry also noted that there has never been a synfuel plant built to the scale of Carter's proposal – 50,000 barrels per day or more. Nazi German's maximum daily production during WW II was only 117,000 barrels, with the largest plant yielding 17,000 barrels.

In the July 15th speech to the nation, Carter proposed the creation of an Energy Mobilization Board (EMB) "to cut through the red tape, the delays and the endless roadblocks to completing key energy projects." Public hearings and environmental impact statements (EIS) would surely be seen as "red tape" and "delays."

Following the speech, Fish and Wildlife Service

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Director Lynn Greenwalt said that it is no longer up to environmental agencies to decide whether a project will be built – only to suggest how the project's impact on people and the environment can be swiftly minimized. Colorado and the Great Plains states could be left a dusty, radioactive ruin after the land has been torn up and the water depleted.

Carter's goal for this updated version of "Project Independence" would require the construction of dozens of coal gasification and liquefication plants in the west and exploitation of all Colorado's extensive oil shale. An oil shale industry producing one million barrels of oil a day would consume 10% of the Colorado River water now being used by the western states for irrigation. The cost per barrel is estimated at $15 to $25. Reserves are put at 1,800 billion barrels, of which 600 billion are considered economically recoverable. Extracting the oil from the shale would require about two or three barrels of water for every barrel of oil. There isn't that much water available in the West to allow such wasteful use of such a precious resource. A million barrels per day production would require moving about a billion tons of earth a year – about the same amount dug up to build the Panama Canal. Vastly increased mining and burning of coal could only make the current acid rain situation worse for a larger part of the US and Canada. Unfortunately, the House has already given the go–ahead for the military to purchase $3 billion in synfuel to spur and subsidize production.

A representative of the National Association of Manufacturers was caught in a most candid moment after hearing a briefing in Washington on the contents of Carter's speech just before it was delivered. He commented "we sure as hell better convince those people in Colorado that cross–country skiing is more fun than downhill skiing, because we're going to have to level the state."

The legislation is drafted and working its way through Congress. In July, the House Interior Committee approved a mild EMB bill (H.R. 4985) sponsored by Chairman Morris Udall (D–Ariz.). The bill allows the EMB to designate up to 24 priority energy projects. This is less than the 75 requested by Carter. To cut delays, the EMB could recommend that the president waive time requirements, which then must be approved by the governor of the affected state, subject to a veto by the Senate or House. Judicial review during the early permitting stage of a project would be severely restricted. The Board would be composed of five members. It isn't too hard to imagine the type of *men* put on such an important board.

Other bills, awaiting approval of their committees are H.R. 4862 sponsored by ex–Trilateral Commission member John Dingell, would give the president the right to waive any federal, state or local law or regulation to clear the way for an important energy project. No appeal of a Board decision would be allowed by this bill. S. 1308 is the Senate version and is sponsored by Henry Jackson. It is concerned with creating a "fast track" for energy projects.

Carter's synfuels project may be circumscribed but the EMB is alive and well and will be passed before the legislature adjourns. His intent remains clear. "We will protect our environment," he said, "but when this nation critically needs a refinery, or a pipeline, we will build it." He left out coal–fired and nuclear power plants, coal and uranium strip and underground mines, gasification and liquefication plants and high voltage transmission lines, but we all got the idea. What he didn't say was that all this "development" is going to take place on Indian lands.

COAL AND INDIAN LANDS

The western U.S. has two coal producing regions: the Northern Great Plains consisting of Montana, Wyoming and the Dakotas and the Rocky Mountain's Colorado, Utah, Arizona, and New Mexico. The total strippable reserves of the regions is estimated at 86,281,000,000 tons, or 63% of all the strippable reserves of the U.S. The two regions' coal production was expected to increase sevenfold in the next 25 years before Carter's energy speech. Who knows what fate awaits the eight state area now. Most of the activity will take place in the Fort Union coal formation. In Wyoming the coal seams are very thick, only 11 acres of land will yield a million tons of coal, while 70 acres per million tons are required in Arizona and New Mexico.

These two regions are already on their way to joining Appalachia as national sacrifice areas to the greed of the multi–national oil companies.

For hundreds of years this eight state area was considered part of the Great American desert and therefore worthless. That's why most of the remaining indigenous Peoples of this country were relocated there. The white folks couldn't see any use for the land, so they stuck the Indians there to die. But they didn't.

The New Mexico Indian Environmental Education Project estimates that the Navahos, Hopi, Pueblos, and other western Nations own 100% of all the coal in Arizona, 40% in New Mexico, 6% in Utah, and 1% in Colorado. In 1977, they estimate that 23 million tons of coal were produced from Indian lands across this country. The DOE estimates are a little more conservative than the Indian's, but they figure that Indians hold title to as much as 25% to 50% of all uranium in the country, one third of all low–sulfur strippable coal and 2% of all domestic oil and natural gas. The Navaho Nation estimates its ownership of strippable reserves of coal at 5 billion tons as do the Crow and the Northern Cheyenne Nations. There was a time not too long ago when the Indian Nations could roam over their lands at will, but the railroads and the US government quickly put a stop to that.

The developing of the west and its coal reserves in the last century is a sordid story of broken promises, broken treaties, deceit, corruption, and murder on such a vast scale that it can only be characterized as genocide. Carter's energy plan is only the latest episode in this four hundred year war fought by the white man against the Indian. In the last century the government wanted the Indian's land for the railroad and for coal and gold; now the same government wants what remains of the Indian land–base for the coal, uranium, and water that are under it in such abundance.

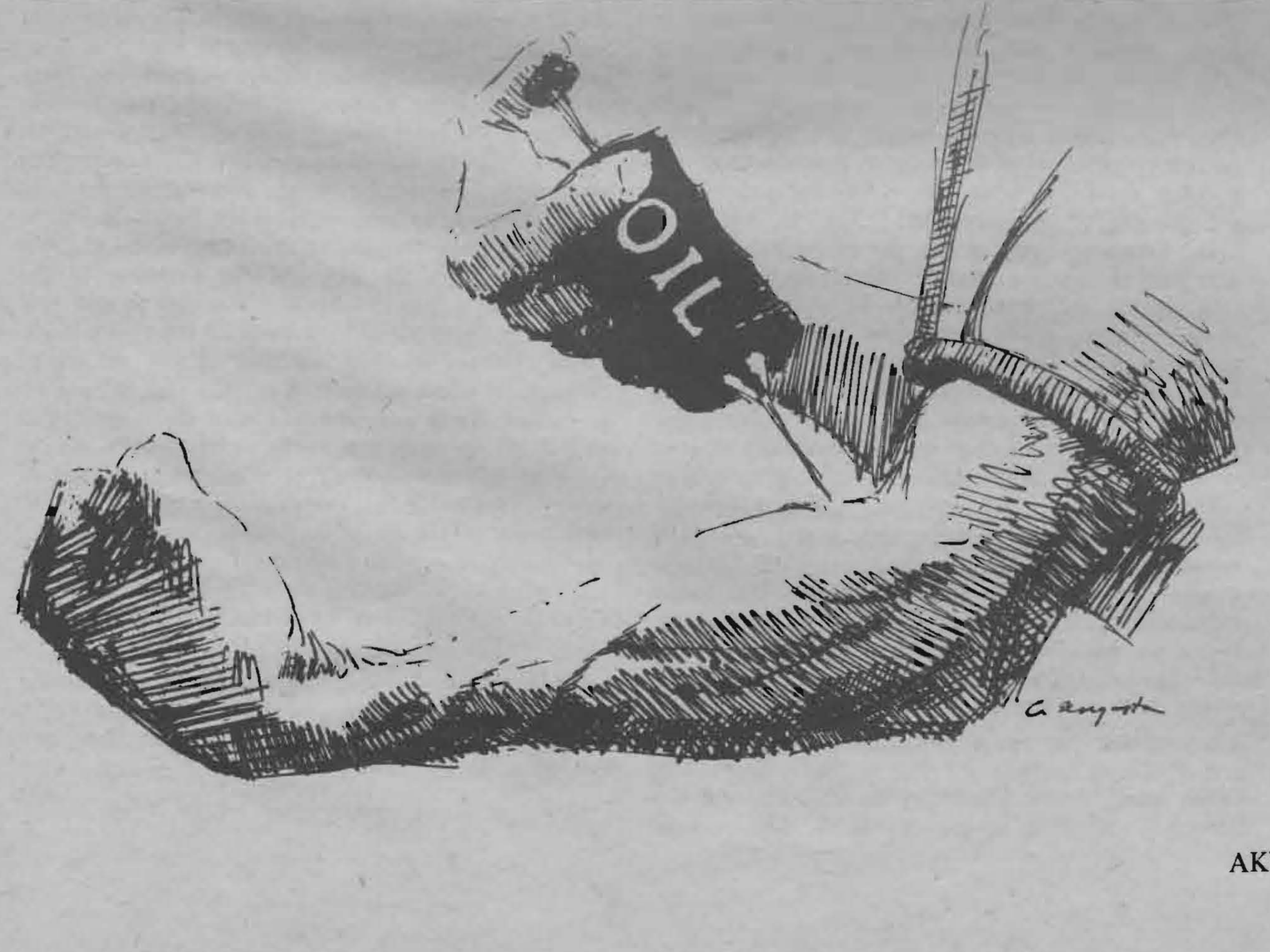
From the mid 1850s to the 1870s the early robber barons (Jay Gould, Jim Hill, et.al.) were given vast tracts of land grants (6,400 to 12,800 acres per mile of track laid) totalling an incredible 155 million acres. This empire of landed wealth had been stolen from the Indians and transferred to a handful of reprehensible individuals by Congress and President Lincoln. In addition to the land, the railroad tsars received millions in subsidies and bonds, an undetermined amount of which found its way back into the pockets of the over–obliging Congressmen from whence it came. The railroads then brought the people in to "settle" the land and on the return trip back east brought coal, oil, and timber to the burgeoning industrial giant.

Production of coal for industry and train boilers reached its peak in 1918. After that the on–set of the Great Depression, the change from coal to diesel for the railroad, and the loss of the steel market in Pueblo, Colorado brought coal production to a stand–still. But the Second World War came along and American industry kicked back into gear for some old–fashioned war profiteering. Coal mining stretched from the Colorado Plateau to the Black Hills of South Dakota.

The coal "bust" of the 1930s brought oil center–stage. In the 1950s uranium mining entered the picture. Uranium mining began on the Navaho and Laguna Pueblo Reservations *in the early 1950s*. Anaconda established the Jackpile mine (the largest open–pit uranium mine in the US) at this time and Kerr–McGee opened several shallow pits near Red Rock on the Navaho Reservation in New Mexico. They also set up an uranium mill in nearby Shiprock. More on both of these mines and mill later.

In 1954 coal production was revolutionized by Kaiser Steel with the introduction of large–scale strip–mining technology i.e. draglines, continuous belt conveyors, and enormous coal hauling dump–trucks. Production increased dramatically. By 1973, coal production in New Mexico was 10 million tons a year. By 1978, it was 12.5 million tons – 72% of that from Navaho land. At the same time New Mexico's coal production was skyrocketing so was its uranium production. Again, most of this increase in production came at the expense of the Navahos and their Reservation lands. With the exception of 1973 when Wyoming led production, New Mexico has consistently produced more uranium ore than any other state. The price the Navahos and Hopis have had to pay for that production is still being determined.

The ecology of the western US operates on very simple principles. Lands leased for oil and other mineral extraction are not usable for grazing livestock or farming. Land and water used for energy production cannot be used for agriculture ranching or people. The west has only a finite amount of underground water in its extensive aquifer systems. Unfortunately, coal seams are natural aquifers and just as unfortunately, the water now flowing through those aquifers is being allocated at rates far above the natural rate of re–generation by rainfall. What this all means for the Hopis and Navahos is plain to see. The Navaho Nation used to be primarily herders and farmers prior to the 1940s. Their reservation was still relatively untouched by the energy–exploiting corporations. But the combination of resource



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exploitation and over–grazing caused by the loss of prime grasslands to oil rigs and strip mines led to the loss by 1942 through soil erosion of 1/4 of the productive topsoil over 45% of the Navaho land. At the same time the Navahos derived approximately 58% of their meager incomes from agriculture and stock raising. By 1958 only 9.9% of their income came from the traditional ways of working.

The real cause of this devastation was the leasing agreements signed between the BIA created Tribal Council, headed by Peter MacDonald, and the energy corporations. The Navaho Tribal Council with the encouragement of the Secretary of the Interior, BIA, state government, and energy–exploiting corporations entered into a long series of disasterous oil, natural gas, and helium leases which provided the oil companies with enormous profits and filled the pockets of tribal leaders but did next–to–nothing for the majority of the tribe. The quality of those leases being signed today for the coal and uranium under the reservation has improved little.

The fact that the Navaho Tribal Council could sign over vast tracts of their land to the oil companies is a testament to just how effective the Tribal Reorganization Act of 1934 has been. That act brought "democracy" to the reservation.

The 1934 Indian Reorganization Act set up under FDR and administered by Commissioner of Indian Affairs John Collier inflicted the Indian Nations with Tribal Councils. Up until that time, the Indian Nations beginning in 1884 were not allowed to own land communally, or to govern their affairs in any way. The BIA had proclaimed itself "trustee" of Indian affairs. Roosevelt and Collier offered the separate reservations some control of their own affairs and the right to own land communally, if each reservation would set up a "tribal council" and a "tribal structure."

The structure was essentially that of a business corporation, but with "democratically elected" officials. It completely ignored the already existing governmental structure inherent within each separate nation. Of course, the BIA maintained complete supervisory and veto power over the "tribal council". Each federally established reservation now suffers under this system whether it has formally agreed to it or not.

The BIA has also set up regional and national organizations of these "tribal councils" to entrench the colonial network.

The 1934 Act came on the heels of the 1924 Citizenship Act which attempted to make Native Peoples US–citizens. They were not then and are not now US–citizens. Native Peoples are members of sovereign nations which exist within the borders of the U.S.. 371 treaties supposedly grant that sovereignty, but in reality it works entirely different. The reservations are domestic colonies as are the Bantustans of South Africa and the aboriginal homelands in Australia. The U.S. is the colonial empire that administers the affairs of the reservations which it created. The elected tribal governments are colonial governments under the thumb of the BIA. It, in turn, dances to the tune called by the multi–national energy– exploiting corporations. It has been that way since the BIA was established and it will be that way until it is abolished.

The Indian People have never lacked sophistication about their rights, resources, or the true motives of the government and corporations. The "tribal councils" are simply "puppets" of the US government, whether or not the individual Indians who sit on the councils wish it that way. Indian affairs, especially around natural resources, cannot be understood without a clear understanding of this basic fact and the US government's exploitation of that fact.

For an all too real example of this domestic colonialism at work we only need to turn to the experiences of the Navaho and Hopi in the Four Corners area; the Northern Cheyenne and Crow in Montana; the Lakota in South Dakota; and the Mohawk in New York. It will then become abundantly clear just how ruthless the men who control the multi–national energy giants really are in their constant pursuit of more and more power and profits. To properly understand American imperialism you only need go to the nearest reservation.

Federal bureaucrats in the BIA exercise powers over Indian People that are not exercised over the lives of any other US–citizens. The BIA has evolved from an arm of the War Department in the late 1700s to an arm of the Interior Department today. The switch was made in 1849. The BIA's original purpose was to oversee the extinction of the race. Now it pays less attention to that goal and contents itself with ripping off Indian water, land, and resources and giving them to the corporations. It also oversees all financial affairs of the tribal councils. In general, it aids in the exploitation of the Indian People and perpetuates their dependency on the Federal government.

The BIA is watched by the Secretary of the Interior who can make decisions on just about any aspect of Indian life. The House Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs makes decisions on Indian Affairs by approving the BIA's budget and expenditures from individual tribal funds from the Treasury. Indian nations are also subject to various constraints of state and local government. This complete economic and political subjugation by the white man has resulted in the dissolution of traditional values and beliefs. Black Elk, an Oglala Sioux holy man, spoke of the spiritual impoverishment of his people caused by the coming of the white man:

> *The Wasichus have put us in these square boxes. Our power is gone and we are dying, for the power is not in us anymore. You can look at our boys and see how it is with us. When we were living by the power of the circle in the way we should, boys were men at 12 or 13. But now it takes them very much longer to mature. Well, it is as it is. We are prisoners of war while we are waiting here. But there is another world.*

When the white man first came to this continent in great numbers, it took him a little while to realize what he'd stumbled onto, but soon he set about the task of wiping out the indigenous inhabitants of the land. Literally hundreds of tribes who once flourished in North America were starved and hounded into extinction by the white man. A similar situation is now in progress in Latin America where the multi–national's greed for other nations' raw materials is leading to the eradication of tribes of the Amazon River Basin by the Brazilian junta. The same thing is happening the length and breadth of the continent. In Bolivia, Argentina, Chile, Paraguay, Uruguay etc. the native peoples who have lived in their aboriginal homelands are being driven to provide the capitalists with the cheap labor they need. Their lands are then opened up for "development". The Ache Indians of Paraguay provide one of the more blatant examples of the genocide being practiced against indigenous peoples around the world. The only thing that makes the American government's treatment of the Native Americans any different than anywhere else is the fact that they signed treaties with the Native Peoples guaranteeing the sovereignty of those peoples and their lands. But the treaties still have not stopped the genocidal practices against the Indian Peoples.

In 1830 the Removal Act was passed by Congress giving legal sanction to the wars of genocide being fought at that time against the Indian Peoples. The Act gave President Jackson the "right" to remove every Indian east of the Mississippi to the west of the Mississippi. Needless to say, thousands died or were murdered during this forced march. By the turn of the century the Indian population had plumetted to 235,000. The best current guesses of the total population at the time of Columbus' arrival put the number at between 8 to 12 million. The population today is just over a million for North America. Along the way hundreds of nations have vanished from the face of the earth. The Huron, Ottawa, Potawatomie, Wyandot, Shawnee, Kickapoo, Winnebago, Delaware, Peoria, Miami, and countless others are now memorialized in the names of some twon, lake, county or recreational vehicle.

In 1887 the Dawes Allotment Act was passed. What land remained for the Indians was soon to be taken away. The Dawes Act gave each Indian in the country between 160 and 320 acres. It also gave them the right to sell that land to whites. Any surplus land not covered by the 160 acres provision was sold to the white public. The result was that by 1934, out of 134 million acres that had been allotted to the Indian People, all but 56 million acres had been expropriated by whites. At this time the BIA examined the remaining lands and found 14 million acres were "critically eroded", 17 million acres "severely eroded", and 25 million acres "slightly eroded". Not a single acre of the remaining Indian lands were judged to be uneroded.

But that was not all that was done. Not only was the entire aboriginal land base gone, but the white man also took Indian children away and sent them to boarding schools where for years on end the children were not allowed to see their parents or any member of their family. They were brought up to be as white as they could possibly get. Today this policy continues with Indian children still being stolen off the reservations by the courts and various religious groups (most notable the Mormons). The genocide also continues in other areas. Hundreds of Indian women are being sterilized against their wishes or entirely unbeknownst to them in public health service clinics each year. Full–blooded Indian women are the special target of the doctors.

So the only thing that has changed since the Indian Wars of last century is that there are less Indians around to kill. The smallpox laden blanket has been replaced by the hogan or sodhouse made from uranium mine tailings given to the Indians as a "benefit" of allowing uranium mining within yards of their homes.

LEASES ON INDIAN LAND

Until 1976 the Secretary of the Interior and the BIA had overseen all leasing of Indian land and resources to the energy–exploiting corporations. They call this "trusteeship", but there is no legal basis for this so–called "trusteeship." All those leases were characterized by one consistent pattern. They were let at fixed prices and were valid as long as what was being extracted was in the ground in payable quantities. There were no escalator clauses for royalty rates to take account of the rising price of minerals. Indians were not allowed to tax the corporations either. States often glean more money in taxes from the corporations than the Indian Nations receive in royalties and leases. During the 1960s, the Hopi, Navajo, Northern Cheyenne and Crow were advised by the BIA and the Secretary of the Interior that it was in their best interests to give their consent to the extraction of resources from their lands. Tribal officials were not informed of how the energy exploitation would affect their lands, water, air, homes, or culture. They were not told what the corporations were doing anywhere else in the world, the true market value of the resources to be extracted, appraised of strategies for negotiating more favorable contracts or the long–term implications of those contracts. Most importantly, the great majority of the Indians on the reservation knew even less than the tribal officials did about the contents of the leases that had been signed.

The Crow and Northern Cheyenne, after becoming aware of what they had gotten themselves into, have called a halt to all leasing on their reservation. They have also taken other measures.

ENERGY WARS CONTINUED NEXT PAGE

ENERGY WARS CONTINUED

The Crow have developed a 25% severance tax on the coal that is taken out of the ground. The reservation lies over part of the Fort Union Coal District. The tax had to be approved by the Secretary of the Interior. It was approved for the reservation but not for the ceded lands directly adjacent to the reservation. These lands had been ceded to the government as part of earlier treaties. The Crow maintained mineral rights to the land but not surface rights. The severance taxes from those lands then go to the state and not the Indians. This then puts the state of Montana in a position of getting more from taxes on Crow coal than the Crow get in royalties. The same is true of the Navajo. In 1976, they received $12.8 million in coal royalties, while taxes paid by the corporations to Arizona totalled $18.5 million. The state also receives $10.5 million a year in taxes from the Navaho coal fired power–plant, while the Navahos get $2.5 million for the coal used, rent, and right–of–way. It gets nothing for the water used in cooling the plant, having signed away those rights in an earlier agreement with the Salt River Project. The Navahos get less than ¼ the revenue the state gets, even though the plant and the coal are on Indian land. The plant uses water guaranteed by treaty and the smokestacks hopelessly pollute the formerly pristine environment of the reservation.

The Northern Cheyenne reservation lies directly over the Fort Union Coal District adjoining the Crow lands. In 1976, the tribal council voted to designate the reservation a Class I air quality area. The Environmental Protection Agency granted them that status in 1977. The energy–exploiting corporations have brought suit in Federal Court to have that designation overturned. A direct result of the designation has been that the Montana Power Company had to shelve plans for the Coals Colstrip Units 3 and 4 at Colstrip, Montana for the moment. The two 700 megawatt coal–fired plants would have violated the Class I status of the reservation. Other Nations have begun looking into Class I designation for their lands. If the Energy Mobilization Board becomes a reality it could void Class I status for the lands and give the go–ahead to both the construction of the plants and the mining of coal on their lands.

BLACK MESA AND THE HOPI AND NAVAHO

The Hopi and the Navaho Nations' dealings with the energy–exploiting multi–nationals and the US Government is one more example of the deceit, corruption and arrogance that has characterized the white man's dealings with the Indian Peoples of this continent.

The Navaho Nation is located over a three state area. It included parts of Arizona, New Mexico and Utah. The Hopi Nation is entirely within the Arizona portion of the Navaho land. The Navahos have the largest land base in the US comprising 25,000 square miles (approximately the size of West Virginia and about as much coal). The reservation was established in 1868 for the 10,000 Navaho who managed to survive the Indian Wars. That same year the Lakotas and Arapaho signed the Ft. Laramie Treaty with the US Government. The Navahos were placed on what the white folks of the time considered the most worthless stretch of desert they could find. There they were left to die. Today they number about 154,000 with 90% of that population still living within the reservation boundaries. They continue to grow and are the largest American Indian Nation.

After decades of selling off the vast mineral wealth under their homeland, the Navahos still have estimated reserves of 100 million barrels of oil, 23 billion cubic feet of natural gas, 5 billion tons of coal (they are currently producing close to 14 million tons a year), and 80 million tons of uranium.

The story of the Black Mesa rip off began back in 1956 when the BIA, using money provided by the Hopi–Navaho Rehabilitation Act of 1950, published a feasibility study of coal reserves on the Hopi and Navaho lands. This report identified the location of the reserves and discussed methods of exploitation and transportation. The energy exploitation of the region was further discussed in a Westinghouse Electric Corporation study submitted to the Four Corners Regional Commission in 1969.

In 1964 Peabody Coal Company was granted the right to strip mine 40,000 acres of the sacred Black Mesa. In 1966 they obtained a mining lease to another 25,000 acres adjoining the previous lease. This land was in the Hopi–Navaho Joint Use Area. More on that later. In both instances the Navahos and Hopi were promised substantial but unspecified numbers of jobs and warned that coal was fast becoming an obsolete fuel given the increasing popularity of nuclear energy. "The Council knew next to nothing of the real value of coal, the extent of the coal deposits, alternatives to coal developments, or the possibility of raising coal prices through competitive bidding. . . Little was known about air pollution, noise, land disruption, or terms and levels of Navaho employment in construction or mining."

At the same time the Navaho also entered into contracts with Arizona's Salt River Project for the construction of the $600,000,000 Navaho Generating Station. For this project the tribe also agreed to waive its right to 50,000 acre feet of Lake Powell water so that the 2,310 megawatt coal–fired plant had enough water for operation and the town of Page had enough to cover the influx of construction workers and their families. The Navahos kept only 15,900 acre feet of water per year for their own uses. The Navahos also sold Peabody Coal 3,000 acre feet of Black Mesa's subsurface water for a 275 mile coal–slurry pipeline from the Mesa to Southern California Edison's 1,580 megawatt Mohave power plant in Nevada. That pipeline is the only coal–slurry pipeline in operation in the nation although there are many more currently on the drawing boards of the nation's utilities. The Black Mesa pipeline takes 700 acre feet of water to move one million tons of coal. The Navahos were given $9,000 for their water or $5 an acre foot. The water is taken out of the Madison Formation aquifer by five wells at the rate of 2,700 gallons per minute.

At this moment on Navaho land there is a new 40,000 acre strip mine at Burnham, New Mexico proposed jointly by Consolidation Coal Company (Consol) and El Paso Natural Gas company awaiting approval of the Federal Office of Surface Mining (OSM). Federal strip mine regulations require coal companies to demonstrate that vegetation can be re–established after mining. The OSM says that Consol has not made such a demonstration. Nearby is the 31,416 acre Utah International (subsidiary of General Electric) stripmine in the San Juan Basin near Shiprock. The mine plan at Burnham calls for essentially the same methods of reclamation used by Utah International. That mine has been in production since October of 1957 and has only two species of vegetation growing on reclaimed lands, while in undisturbed areas, according to OSM experts, there would ordinarily be 10 to 15 species. The strip mine laws call for "diverse, effective, permanent vegetative cover" to be established to assure an adequate feed for livestock and wildlife. The soils of the reservation are young and sandy. They are difficult to reclaim, if that can be done at all. The reservation receives an average annual rainfall of six inches. Most, if not all of that rain, comes in a few summer thunderstorms. The National Academy of Sciences says trying to reclaim land areas of average rainfalls under ten inches is "nearly impossible."

In addition to the proposed Burnham mine and the Utah International mine there are three other strip mines in operation. Peabody Coal Company (formerly a subsidiary of Kennecott Copper Corporation, but now owned by a holding company headed by Newmont Mining Corporation) has two enormous strip mines on the Black Mesa area of the Navaho Reservation and the

Photograph by Walter Gallacher

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Joint Use Area. The first, begun in 1964, is 24,858 acres and produces 6,897,578 tons annually. The second mine is 40,000 acres and produces 4,427,704 tons a year. It began operation in 1966. The last mine is the 11,157 acre Pittsburg and Midway (Gulf Oil) mine near Window Rock, Arizona. Production at that mine began in 1964 and produces 203,712 tons annually.

In addition to the Navaho and Mohave power plants, the Four Corners coal–fired plant has been in operation since 1963. This plant alone, in 1973, was spewing out 383 tons of fly ash, 1,032 tons of sulphur dioxide, and an undetermined amount of nitrogen oxide each day. Other coal–fired plants built in the area are the Cholla and San Juan. Notwithstanding pollution control equipment, these five generating plants emit 40 tons of particulates a year, 100 times the emissions allowable in Los Angeles County. Together these five monsters created a lethal haze that was the only man–made thing visible on earth to the returning Apollo 15 astronauts.

In testimony about energy "development" in the Four Corners area, Arizona Public Service President William P. Reilly admitted that there was a "pollution problem" in the area, but that the "development" was an "opportunity" for a "minority" to "play a role in our free enterprise system."

Yes, there is a "pollution problem", but no one has any idea what the pollution caused by the five plants is doing to the health of the Navahos and Hopis who have to live within a few miles of the plants. The Navahos and Hopis know it's not doing them any good, but they have no one to turn to. The Indian People do know that the plants have cut the amount of sunlight that falls on Flagstaff, Arizona – 200 miles away – by 15% from 1965 to 1970.

What is left today after years of energy "development" on the reservation is an environmental disaster. In addition to the coal strip mines and the coal–fired power plants are 5 abandoned uranium processing mills with radioactive tailings piles totalling 240 acres. That's over ten million tons of highly radioactive tailings piles. The tailings are the sandy remains after uranium ore has been milled out. The federal government estimates that 85% of the radioactivity of the uranium extracted remains in the tailings. The government is just beginning to acknowledge the dangers of this low–level ionizing radiation, although many scientists and lay people alike have warned for years of the severe health effects the tailings can have. The Vanadium Corporation closed its Monument Valley mill in 1966, the same year El Paso Natural Gas closed their Tuba City mill. They left the Navaho Nation over 2 million tons of radioactive tailings to clean up. The Kerr–McGee mine, closed in 1968, at Shiprock left 1,650,000 tons of tailings, while the Atlas Corporation's Mexican Hat mine in Utah left 2,200,000 tons to be disposed of. All mines now belong to the Navaho Nation. The corporations who are responsible for the radioactive mills and tailing piles assume no responsibility under the law. While the mines were producing in the 1950's and 60's, the corporations gave the miners who were working in the mines permission to use the radioactive tailings to build houses, schools and other public buildings.

As if all the above was not enough to assure that Four Corners will soon be unfit for human habitation, Pacific Lighting Corporation and Texas Eastern Transmission (together they form WESCO), El Paso Natural Gas and Continental Oil Company plan to build 6 coal–gasification projects in the same area of the Navaho Nation as the Navaho Indian Irrigation Project.

Once again they are slated to be the guinea pigs for an enormous ecological boondoggle. The decision will soon be made on the plant's construction. With Carter's new energy policy the decision has already been made for the Navahos.

INDIAN RESISTANCE

What could be the first in a series of violent confrontations between the US and Indian People is shaping up at Big Mountain on Black Mesa. 6,500 traditional Navahos and 60 Hopi have been ordered by a Federal Judge in Tucson to leave the lands they have lived on for centuries. At issue is the 2 million acres of the Hopi–Navaho Joint Use Area (JUA). President Chester Arthur decreed the JUA in 1882. In 1977 Federal Judge James Walsh ruled the land should be split between the two peoples. He required all members of either group to relocate if they were not then living on their own lands. If the 6,500 Navahos and 60 Hopi do not move, US Marshalls and who knows how many other local, state and federal cops will forceably evict them. Traditional Peoples from other nations and members of the American Indian Movement have pledged their support of the Navaho and Hopi traditionals that do not intend to move.

But there is more than just a judge's ruling behind the relocation. Every square foot of the JUA sits atop a massive coal deposit. A statement was drafted at the June 18–24 International Treaty Council Conference at Big Mountain, dealing with the JUA. It declared: "We the people of Big Mountain do hereby recognize that the real purpose of the laws and disputes created is to remove...traditionals from their lands to make it possible to mine coal that lies beneath the entire Joint Use Area." The International Indian Treaty Council which has NGO (Non–Governmental Organization) status at the UN will make the JUA relocation a top priority of this session. The disputed area is only a few miles from the Peabody mines.

One of many continuing confrontations took place on Navaho lands in April 1978. Local people were outraged at the actions of employees of Texaco, Phillips, Superior Oil and Continental Oil. These multi–nationals had purchased leases in 1950 to exploit oil reserves beneath Aneth and Montezuma Creek, New Mexico. Those areas now produce 22,000 barrels of oil a day from the area. The local people took over and occupied the Aneth oil field because employees were caught stealing sheep by a young Indian boy. They shot at the boy. The occupation ended only after the companies had agreed to attempt reclamation, prohibit fire–arms and liquor among their employees; protect Navaho burial sites; compensate for livestock taken and misused and provide electricity and natural gas service to all local residents. However, royalties to the Indians were not effected and the contract was not renegotiated.

Other Indian land where similar resistance may occur is the Colville and Spokane Reservations over uranium; the Western Shoshone lands in Nevada over water; the Santee Sioux lands at Prarie Island in Minnesota where Northern States Power has built two nuclear reactors on the island which constitutes the entire reservation; the Upper Skagit, Sauk–Suiattle, and the Swinomish Tribal Communities where a nuclear power plant could be located in the middle of their ancestral homeland in the Skagit Valley on the shores of the Skagit River; the Pine Ridge Reservation where the Lakota are faced with uranium mining and possible oil and gas exploration; the Pima and Papago lands of Arizona over the stealing of their water for industrial purposes; the Wind River Reservation of Wyoming and Fort Belnap, Fort Peck, Blackfoot, Crow and Northern Cheyenne Reservations of Montana over coal and uranium exploration and mining; the Flathead lands of Montana over the building of a high–voltage transmission line from the Colstrip, Montana coal–fired plants through the reservation; the Duck Valley Reservation of Northern Nevada over water rights (here Tina Trudell, wife of AIM leader John Trudell, their three children and Tina's mother were all murdered in a fire earlier this year); and the Mohawl. lands of New York which at this writing are surrounded by state police attempting to arrest traditional members for resisting the takeover of their homelands by the state. The list could go on and on until every reservation in the country was named.

At the Big Mountain meeting discussed earlier, American Indian Movement co–founder Clyde Bellacourt summed up the situation of the American Indian today by saying, "When you look at it you see that our relationship to the US Government is the same as the Iranian or Vietnamese Peoples' before their revolutions. It's the same everywhere. The push to take Indian lands has never stopped."

(Editors Note: This article is part one of a two–part article which is an excerpt from a soon to be published book: TRILATERALISM: ELITE PLANNING FOR WORLD MANAGEMENT, Holly Sklar, Ed., South End Press, Boston, MA. Michael Garitty, the author, is a researcher for the Black Hills Alliance.)

SHORT NOTES

UPCOMING DEVELOPMENTS

The Crow tribe in Montana has announced that they are planning to build a coal liquification plant and a "mine–to–mouth" 800–900 megawatt electrical plant on their lands. They have been negotiating the coal–fired electrical generating plant idea with the California–based FLOUR Corporation, formerly of Utah. The announced plans have not made their Northern Cheyenne neighbors very happy. Plans for that development will mean massive stripmining of Crow lands and will cause serious air pollution for the Northern Cheyenne people. The Northern Cheyennes have decided against such development. They say that they are going to leave the coal and uranium where it is – in the ground.

Meanwhile, the Jicarilla Apache Tribe is planning to build a natural gas propane refinery. And the Southern Ute Tribe in Southern Utah is planning a "mine–to–mouth" plant similar to the plans on Crow lands. The Nez Perce (Idaho) Tribe is planning a low–head hydro dam capable of generating 60 megawatts. And the Navajo Tribe is considering tribally–owned coal–liquification and "mine–mouth" facilities.

The Equitable Life Insurance Company is planning to bankroll the Crow and Jicarilla adventures with loan guarantees from the Department of Energy and the Department of Interior. In the 1960s, federal policy favored the development of light industry on Indian lands, and that was followed in the 1970s with development of the tourist industry. For the most part, both of those policies had disastrous results for the Indian communities who "benefited" from the development. It is clear that the 1980s plans call for energy development on the Indian lands. When will they ever learn? When will they ever learn?

CERT–IFIED MARKET ANALYST

The Council of Energy Resource Tribes (CERT) has hired a new market analyst and mathematician. He is Ahmed Karoos who was Iran's deputy minister of oil and finance under the Shah and for a short time after the Shah fled Iran. He has a two year commitment with CERT.

A REAL BIG MAC ATTACK

McDonald's restaurant in downtown San Salvador, El Salvador was recently firebombed. A security guard was shot to death in the incident which officials estimated resulted in $250,000 damages.

Technology Is The Enemy

A number of years ago, a group of students was sightseeing with Thomas Banyacya, well-known Hopi Traditionalist interpreter and spokesman. The group was from SUNY at Buffalo, and the tour followed the Niagara Gorge to Niagara Falls, past the myraid of chemical plants near the now–famous Love Canal, and on toward the Robert E. Moses Power Project. Thomas had given a speech the night before as part of a program to bring Native consciousness to the American public. He had told of the prophesy of the Hopi, and to the extent that such a teaching could be received by a college audience the adventure was a success -

He was impressed by the sights of the day, as is everyone who first sees the gorge, the falls, the industrialization of the Niagara Strip. By late afternoon, we had left the Falls and were where the highway signs announce the approaches to the Robert E. Moses Power Project. Suddenly, Thomas told us to stop the car. We pulled over, and he got out. For a long time, in silent awe, he stood beside the road, a few hundred yards from the gorge. Before him stretched the power transport network — the endless maze of cables which transport electricity from the Niagara Fall's generating plant to points throughout Western New York. He got back in the car, and we rode for a few moments in silence, past the transformers and the cable towers which dominate the landscape. Finally, he spoke softly:

"In the Hopi teachings," he began, "we are told that toward the end of the world, Spider Woman will come back and she will weave her web across the landscape. Everywhere you will see her web. That's how we will know that we are coming to the end of this world, when we see her web everywhere. I believe I have just seen her web."

He didn't mean that the Hopi world was coming to an end, and that the power lines signalled an end of Hopi culture. He meant that *the* world was coming to an end, that the history of humans as a species was coming to some crisis and that the crisis was connected in some way to the appearance of those power transmission lines.

The teachings of Hopi culture are not easily translated into a way of thinking which is accessible to Western Technological Man. The Hopi Cosmology is an oral history of the Hopi people and the human species which interweaves a complex set of symbols in such a way that it illuminates a set of moralities which the West has generally found to be both confusing and inappropriate. But the Hopi Cosmology should be interesting to the Western mind in at least one category — it contains as a central element a "history" of Technology. (I'm not going to apologize at this point because words like "history" don't accurately apply to the Hopi version of the past, the word "Cosmology" isn't an accurate description of their teachings either. The language is deficient, not the Hopi mind.)

Technology, which is extremely prominent in Hopi ways of thinking, is virtually invisible in Western Conventional Histories. Since Western Conventional Histories shape Western Conventional Wisdom, it is really useless to talk about Technology unless we can talk about history and unless we can except the fact that all of us are products of what is called Conventional Wisdom — those things which we accept to be true because "everybody knows" those things are true. The culture we were born into nurtured each and every one of us to a belief in certain premises, and our socialization in that respect is surprisingly complete. We are each of us "prejudiced" to certain beliefs, certain ways of seeing the world, and certain ways of being in the world.

If technology occupies a prominent place in the Hopi version of the human experience, the role of technology in shaping human events in the Western world is seriously downplayed. In fact, the historical force of technology is almost invisible in the West. If technologies have had an impact on molding Western history, then those versions of Western history upon which English–speaking people were all nurtured were woefully inadequate in explaining those forces. For a number of reasons that I don't want to talk about here, Western history has been written largely with an eye to expounding upon personalities and events in ways which leave the role of technologies, to say the least, secondary. In the following few pages, I am going to delve into a version of history which states that the evolution of technologies have been the major moving force in all of Western history, and that the vectors of that evolution give us some insights into where it all goes and what it means to the future of us all.

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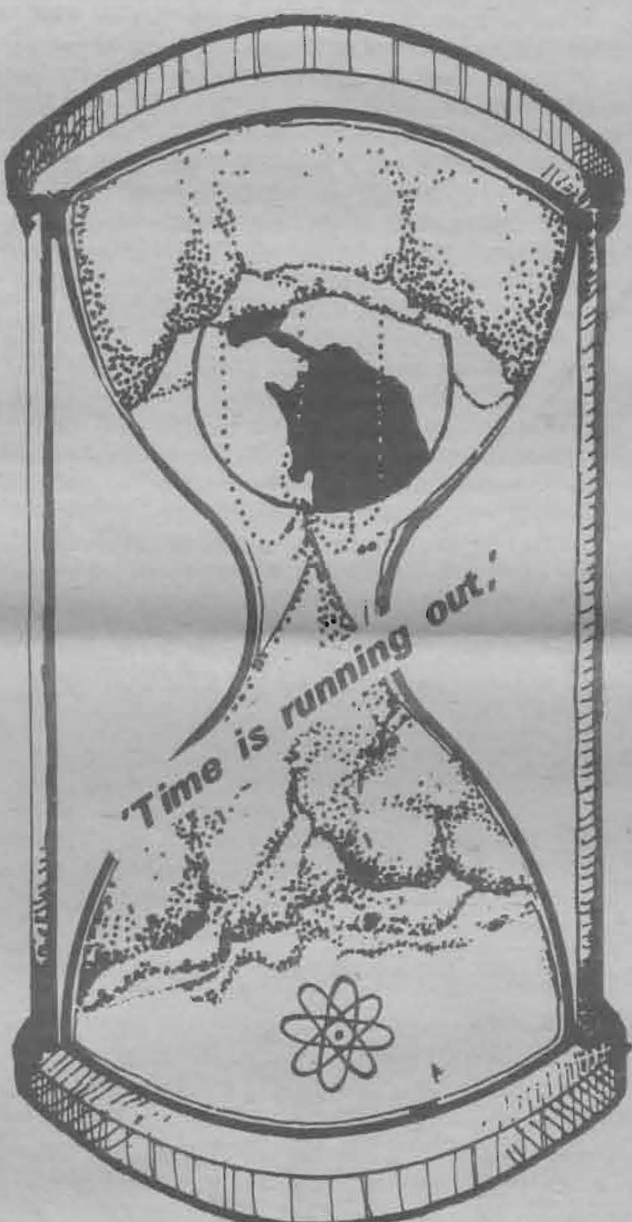
The beginnings of technologies can probably be traced to that period of time several million years ago when ancestors of our species climbed out of trees and began life walking erect on the ground. There isn't much that can be said about that period of time, so little is really known about that phase of evolution. It is certain that over long periods of time, our species evolved from arboreal creatures to erect creatures which eventually inhabited the semi–arid savannah country of present–day Africa.


Time is running out!

At some point, and it is not entirely clear at what point, proto–humans evolved from creatures entirely dependent, as are most creatures, on the raw gifts of Nature and ventured from their Natural habitat into an increasingly alien habitat to which they had not physically evolved. Human evolution took some revolutionary turns in the history of the world's creatures, not the least of which involved the human evolution of the development of culture as a means of surviving in environments to which the species was not physically adapted. As proto–humans left their ancestral habitat, they evolved new ways of surviving which required that they learn to do the things which Nature had not provided them at birth. As they moved into colder climates, they had to learn to fashion clothing to take the place of fur coats that other species evolved biologically. They had to learn to devise shelters, to eat what was available, and to shape and mold the things of their new worlds to their needs.

From the very beginning of "human" time, all things are products of "technology." There must have been many revolutionary technologies which enabled human populations to spread from their places of origin to inhabit nearly all places of the world, from the hottest and most arid deserts to the polar ice caps. Those technologies must have included such things as learning to work leather and to sew clothing, and to fashion tools from wood and bone. It is not preposterous to imagine that an awl and a sewing needle were at one time revolutionary technological developments which enabled people to fashion clothing which in turn allowed people to venture to and live in climates which had previously been too hostile for human habitation. It must have taken tens of thousands of years for some of these inventions to take place and to have an impact. Inventions which made it possible for humans, who do not possess the fierce claws or powerful jaws of most meateaters, to kill and eat large grass eating animals were powerful inventions. Those kinds of inventions shaped human history. For hundreds of thousands of years, that cultural evolution was going on, and human populations evolved into creatures capable of expanding into many areas of the world, able to trap and ambush animals many times the size of humans, able to devise shelters adequate to provide survival in increasingly hostile environments, and having invented languages which made it possible to transmit from one generation to the next the group's accumulated knowledge.

All of that was going on long before the end of the Pleistocene. In fact, we have a lot of evidence to indicate that the concept of religion, the idea of a cosmological order of things, was pretty universal among mankind some 70,000 years ago, and may be one of the developments which set modern man apart in some ways from truly ancient man, although even that isn't entirely clear. By the end of the old Stone Age, (at the end of the Pleistocene) Man's most complex and marvelous technological feat – language – had clearly evolved to fascinating proportions. The hunting and gathering culture had lasted through several ice ages and seemed to have survived the test of time. By that time, Man had evolved so far from his origins that for all practical purposes there was no place left on earth where he could survive without his devised method of evolution — culture. And the culture of man — even in our Archeology textbooks — was defined by his tools and the way he lived in the space he occupied.

It was about ten thousand years ago that technologies started to evolve in new ways. The inventions associated with the New Stone Age took root in several places under varying conditions, but it is useful to look at the evolution of the West especially because it is there that the kind of technologies we must concern ourselves with were nurtured. It is entirely possible that at least some of the early technologies were born out of some kind of necessity. The hunting culture of the Old Stone Age comes to an end with the appearance of agriculture and animal herding. Those things probably were accepted only very gradually. The first crops were probably gathered and replanted because people were experiencing some kind of adversity – famine or near–famine. Until people began sowing and cultivating plants, those plants were gathered, and it seems highly unlikely that people would have adopted the tedious and strenuous work associated with most agriculture unless Nature failed to provide the food they needed abundantly enough to meet their needs. Once agriculture took root, however, it probably seemed like a Godsend to people who were in need.

As new technologies are introduced, human societies change in order to incorporate those technologies into their world. The introduction of agriculture seems to alter hunting and gathering societies in some relatively predictable ways. A hunting society is primarily patrilocal, and the spirits which people look to for their health and safety are largely animal spirits. Agricultural societies tend to be more settled and women play a greater role in the society which often becomes matrilocal and which looks to the spirits of plants increasingly for the same purposes. In the beginning, agriculture was a woman–based technology, and the

TECHNOLOGY CONTINUED

TECHNOLOGY CONTINUED

society reflected that. In Europe, we know of the existence into historical times of Mother Goddess religions which have their origins in prehistory.

Sometime after the introduction of agriculture, at least among Indo–European peoples inhabiting the area known as the present day Steppes of Russia, animal herding was introduced.

A society's religion seems to be intricately related to its technology. The herdsman truly revolutionized the way humans saw the world, because he is a human who manipulates the reproductive aspects of the animals he herds and upon which the society depends for its food and clothing and, in many cases, for shelter. But if agriculture had a primarily female bent, herding has a very male cast. Males became dominant in the herding culture, and to a considerable extent, the same technology which is employed in herding is readily applied to societal organization. Herding cultures tend to be patriarchal, with women playing an extremely secondary role. The religion of herding cultures tends toward male sky gods whose attention focuses largely on the affairs of men. Animals had previously been thought to be sacred at least to the extent that they possessed spirits which could assist or injure humans. In the herdsman's experience, the animals' spirit became less and less important.

Hunters and gatherers who become herdsmen tend to become more hierarchical than agriculturalists and in fact sometimes evolve into extremely patriarchical societies. Herding is not a technology which provides a more attractive way of life compared to hunting and gathering – it provides a more efficient way. The animal supply is under human control, easily found, and usually required less territory than hunting and gathering. Animal herding made it possible for human beings to live on the grasslands, which hunters and gatherers could not do.

Agriculturalists who lived in semi–arid regions were probably the first to extensively practice water–use technologies, and were the first to build settlements. It is extremely possible that the first irrigation ponds were dug by agriculturalists who were experiencing crop failure due to lack of rain and who invented irrigation as a way of resolving this problem. The early permanently settled villages could have grown up around the use of this technology, although it is also possible that villages in dry regions sometimes arise in places where water is available and where the availability of that water is so critical that groups of people really can't move around very much during long periods of the year. It is interesting to note that when towns appear we also begin to see the appearance of priest–classes which not only control the religious life of the community but which also seem to be in control of the technology. Civilization (from the Greek civos) arises out of these roots, and it will remain constant that people will fashion their society after a model dictated to them by the technologies that define their material economy.

The evolution of civilization – in this case Western Civilization – was a very complex process. The steps from settlements which arose because people needed a reliable water supply for crops to the population centers which we call cities was a slow process and technologies which reinforced that process were evolved all along the route. It seems not unreasonable, when looking at the history of ancient Anatolia and the Fertile Crescent, that a series of events took place in those early towns. The towns which produced crops, mainly grains, also invented ways to store and keep track of those grains. The culture seems to have invented writing for the purpose of keeping track of things like grains for the purpose of trade, and also seems to have developed increasingly sophisticated kilns to make pots in which to store the grains against pests.

Eventually kilns developed which could produce enough heat to melt metal, and townsmen became the early producers of both clay pots and metal products. Metal was also useful for making weapons, and the technology of metal work was a guarded military secret for a long time. Metal workers need raw materials and there were no copper or tin or iron ores in the towns or nearby. This development gave rise to a need to open trade routes to get these things, and the opening of trade routes meant a need for a military to protect the caravans. Since it is easier and more certain to own your own mine than to trade with somebody else, it became quite profitable to go out and colonize other lands and peoples to get the raw materials.

All this metal working and pot making and mining and transportation required more and more supportive labor. As trade developed, towns became permanent marketplaces and the markets generated needs for increased production that required more people employed in making trinkets and tools. Those people had to have other people who would protect, feed, house and supply them. In addition, there were others who were employed at managing the affairs of the town, its economy, and at seeing to people's spiritual needs. Each step in this expansion of civilization required and motivated the evolution of technologies, a process which could be called technological dialectic. Technologies arose and became popular according to needs in every case. When the Natural World failed to provide, (and the Natural World does not provide for civilized needs,) some inventor came along and developed a substitute.

These technologies arose in response not to human needs, but to the needs of that peculiar form of human organization known as civilization. In the ancient world the kind of pot that spawned the kiln that eventually smelted metal was not invented for the purpose of keeping a small family's grain safe from pests. It was invented to produce big pots which stored grains in the royal grainery. Most of the technological innovations such as metal processing were invented for the benefit of the city's need for trade goods and weaponry, and were not invented for the good of some now distant abstract called Humanity. In time, civilizations would completely forget the distinctions, and they will use the word Man to refer to Civilized Man. The conventional wisdom has it that technologies, at least some technologies, benefit Mankind. The historical fact is that Technologies were invented to benefit civilization. There is a difference.

Civilizations (especially Western Civilization) had the potential from the very beginning of being destructive to the point of being self–destructive. It is in the process of civilization that a region is exploited without regard to its material (ecological) limits. When humans become "civilized " they cease being "citizens" of a region, and they become actors in a process which disregards the reality of regionality.

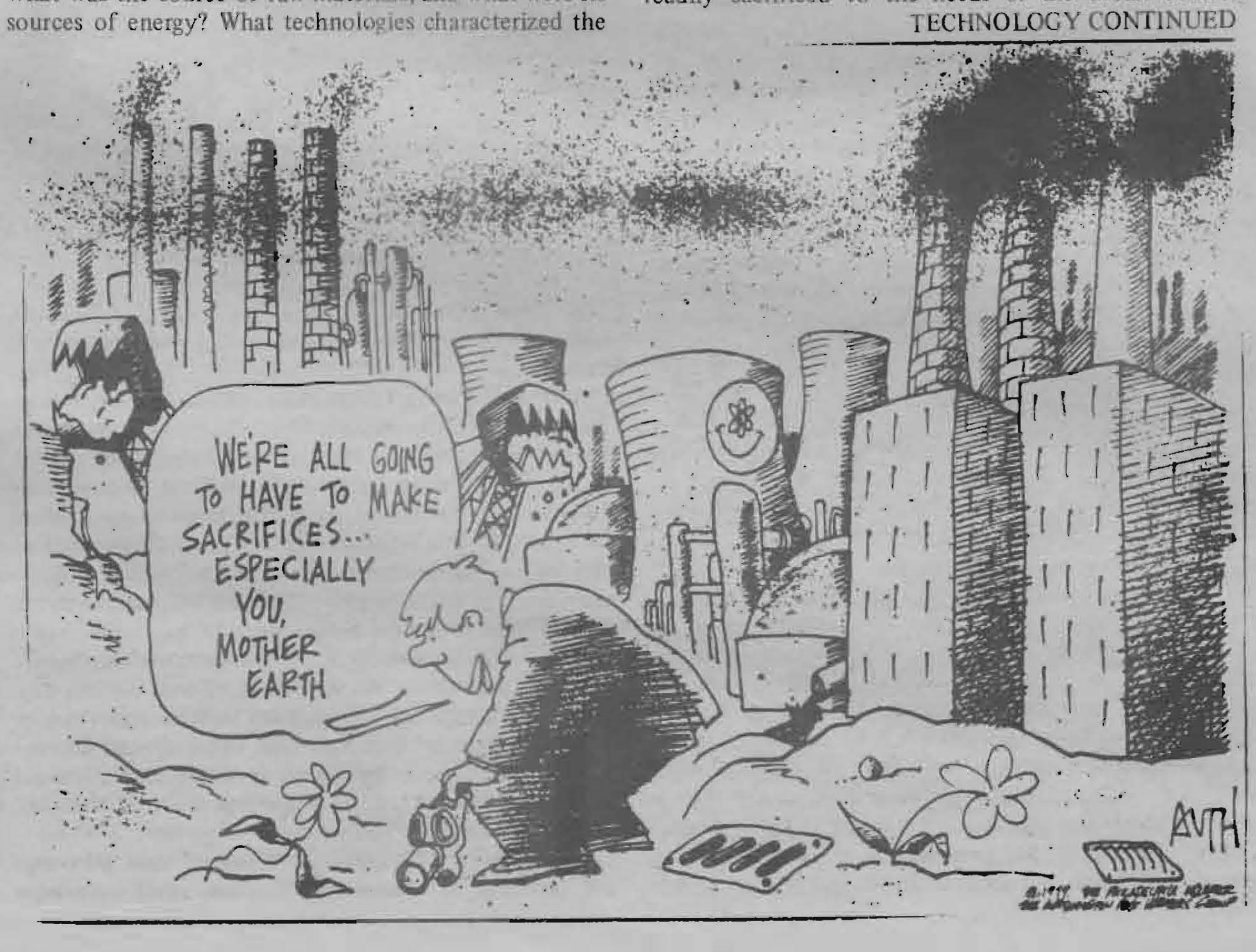
The conventional histories to which Western peoples are exposed propose that histories are composed of personalities, battles, and dates of events. Those histories would have been more enlightening had people been required to look at the rise and fall of civilizations in material terms. How did each produce food, develop water resources, or provide its people with clothing? What was the source of raw materials, and what were its sources of energy? What technologies characterized the various sectors of production? Did the technologies of these civilizations meet with crisis, did they ever cross over an "invisible line" at which technologies were doing more harm than good? Conventional histories never seem to concern themselves with these question.

The conventional wisdom has it that great civilizations fell because of invasions of barbarians and the imprudent leadership of morally deficient kings and emporers. But the area which was once called the Fertile Crescent is today a desert caused by centuries of soil erosion and salinization which were the long–term effects of technological innovations which once made the same area bloom. The conventional wisdom seems woefully incomplete. Barbarism and poor leadership may have been factors which appear at the decline of civilizations, but the causes of the erosion can be found elsewhere. Long before the barbarians reached the city gates, the limitations of technology had been reached, and the contradictions inherent in certain technologies had begun to take their toll.

Technologies have always defined cultures, and cultures have always had at least some impact on environments. Western cultures and Western technologies have been defined by the objective, inherent in the culture, of supporting overly large concentrations of population. The underlying driving technoforce of the West has been expansion for the purpose of providing for the needs of population concentration. Decentralization of population centers is seen as the most serious of sins, for it is anathema to the culture, and the culture's technologies, en masse, are not adapted to that purpose. It will become clear as this discourse continues that the concept of an 'invisible line' has to do with a given technology's purpose. All technologies serve a purpose. When that purpose is to support inappropriately large population centers, then that technology has "gone over the line," and the contradictions of the purpose of that technology become visible.

It is arguable that the economy of a civilization – the market system -- is the motivating force of the modern technological dilemma. In the Modern World, technologies of agriculture, for example, are not in any way divorced from the market system. We are living in a time when the needs of Western economies have clearly stated priorities, even within the Western economy. Given a need for agricultural land versus a need for electricity, the culture of the West has clear priorities in favor of the electricity. Food is merely a commodity in the marketplace and receives no priority consideration because of its role in sustaining human life. The land, and its life–supporting function, is expendable. Subsistence farmers, whose existence makes more sense in a regional, millenial and species–specific terms, are readily sacrificed to the needs of the urban centers.

TECHNOLOGY CONTINUED


WE'RE ALL GOING TO HAVE TO MAKE SACRIFICES... ESPECIALLY YOU, MOTHER EARTH
AUTH

> **"CIVILIZATION-SUPPORTIVE TECHNOLOGIES HAVE ALWAYS BEEN ECOLOGICALLY DESTRUCTIVE. WE ARE NOW REACHING A CRISIS WHEREBY MODERN TECHNOLOGIES HAVE MADE MUCH LARGER CITIES POSSIBLE AND HAVE SPEEDED UP THE PROCESS OF HABITAT DECAY WHICH IN MESOPOTAMIA TOOK MILLINIA."**

Lands which are flooded for hydro–electric projects are considered regional or national 'sacrifice areas.'

Western culture experienced critical periods of change which gave rise to these kinds of priorities during the First Millenia A.D.. The so–called Dark Ages were a period of major technological change. The ancient world was powered almost entirely by direct sun energy. Beginning around the Fourth Century, power–driven machinery appeared as the result of the development of windmills and water wheels.

Such inventions enabled the introduction of power–driven bellows which enormously increased the potential for the production of iron. Iron production required huge amounts of charcoal which was produced from hardwood trees. Iron also provided a material for tools which could cut down the European forests. At this same period, the iron plow was introduced which was now pulled by horses which were made more efficient for this purpose by the invention of the harness. The axe–cleared forest could be plowed and cultivated through the use of this technology by far fewer people than had been required previously, and the increased efficiency of this mode of production made it possible that more people were freed for more functions in the system of feudal estates which this technology made not only possible but inevitable.

All of this was unfolding as the motivating force behind the spread of the Christian techno–revolution. Christianity is an ideology of technology because the Christian message is that the pagan gods and spirits of the forests, mountains, streams and so forth are false gods and that streams and rivers aren't really sacred. Christianity paved the way for the philosophy that there is nothing wrong with taking an axe and a plow to the forest and reducing it to so much charcoal and so many acres of cropland.

By the Fifteenth Century, feudalism had spread through Europe, its cities were established, and the people were suffering from the plagues which accompanied the incredible filth that characterized that period of history. The forests were largely eroded. The symbols of that period are a man and a tool, and the Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse. The by–products of Medeval technology were the pressures which led to the European settler expansion into the Americas, Africa and Australia.

The technologies of ship construction and navigation probably "saved" European society as we know it. Those developments made possible the mass transport of populations from Europe to the rest of the world (and mass transport of food and materials from the rest of the world to Europe) and ushered in the Modern World. New technologies enabled that process to take place at an ever faster pace. The inherent crisis of urban techno–society was delayed for several centuries by the "discoveries" of new lands, resources, and the adaptable technologies of non–Western peoples.

The Nineteenth Century saw the development of fossil fuels which delayed the crisis which was developing when the hardwood forests were becoming depleted. The use of fossil fuels led to entirely new dimensions of population growth and concentration. It is hardly remarkable that technology became a kind of religion in the West.

People had long ago abandoned "faith" in God as a way of life. Christ's admonition to people to trust in God (read Nature) when he said that God provides for the birds and will provide for the faithful as well. That idea was entirely disregarded by the Christian world. It was considered, in a manner of speaking, advice "for the birds." In fact, the West has developed more food–storage technology than any other people to guard against the possibility that God might not provide for the future. The true religion in the West was better expressed by the sentiments that "God Helps Those Who Help Themselves," and the more ways people invent to help themselves, the better.

At each point in crisis in Western history, the invention of new technologies can indeed be said to have. "saved" the culture. So much for Faith. Have faith in technology, it works. At least, it has always seemed to have worked because there has been some new resource to tap when the old resource was exhausted, and because the West conveniently forgets those historical periods when no resource could be found and technologies depleted peoples' resources and left them stranded.

In the Twentieth Century, we are viewing the continuation of the drama of Western Man in his quest to stay one step ahead of disaster. Until now, the West has continually adopted technologies with disastrous results, but for more than four centuries it has been possible, whenever things went wrong, to simply move on to new frontiers.

Ever since the West embarked on this path, necessity has truly been the mother of invention. What has changed has been what was necessary.

Some years ago, a film comedy sequence circulated which depicted a man who had spilled ink on a rug. To remove the stain, he had to get some ink remover, but the bottle cap was stuck. To open the bottle, he got a pair of pliers, but those were rusted together. To fix the pliers, he had to get a can of oil, but the oil wouldn't flow out of the can so he need a pin to open the hole. And he couldn't find a pin.

Something similar to that has been happening to technology over the past two centuries or so. The Industrial Revolution set in motion some entirely new processes and brought forth some new problems. Industrial technologies which the conventional wisdom said benefited everybody also produced dangerous by–products. Paper mills produced a lot of paper but also produced a lot of effluence and the people of Minneapolis had to build 18 water purification plants to put the water into a condition that people could stomach it. The cheap technology was never developed that could remove all the chemicals, and if everybody's drinking water was filtered through activated charcoal filters or distilled, true water purification would cost more than the entire dollar benefits of the industries that polluted the rivers in the first place. The problem with most technolgies since the Industrial Revolution is that they involve the production of some kind of toxic chemical – lead emmissions from cars, sulphur acid compounds from steel mills, carbon oxides from just about everything that burns – and the scale of those toxic chemicals has reached cataclysmic proportions.

Civilization–supportive technologies have always been ecologically destructive. We are now reaching a crisis whereby modern technologies have made much larger cities possible and have speeded up the process of habitat decay which in Mesopotamia took millenia. In fact, the Industrial Age may last only a few centuries before acid rains and chemical poisons of many types condemn all complex organisms in the Northern Hemispheres.

The technolgies of the Twentieth Century need to be approached with the same kind of materialist critique as was applied to the economics of the Nineteenth Century by writers like Karl Marx. How much does a certain technology – say coal–generated electrical power – cost the society when all the costs are included, including the costs of acidified land and forests, fish life and fuel transportation costs, acid runoffs and stripmined land? Can we begin to evolve a methodology – a technology of social critique – which weighs things in terms of Hopi thought – ie. biomass costs? If we take a simple "essential technology" of the 1980s world and we then apply a regional analysis of its cost in bio–mass terms, we may find that we are rapidly eroding something that may be termed the Life Supportive Index of that areas. And if we analyse the present technologies and their impact on North America, we may find that they are uneconomical in the Life Supportive Index balance book, even if we apply a price tag to the resources in dollar terms. It seems inevitable that we will find that the kind of society that we find ourselves in today is in fact a physical impossibility over the long run (the centuries–long run) and that what will be possible will require, out of necessity, an entirely new approach to the purpose of technology.

Right now, we are looking at the possibility that this culture will designate all the Northern Hemisphere as a "national sacrifice area." The present technologies have the ability to destroy the life support potential of huge areas of North America to the point that no culture, as we know it, can survive in those regions affected.

The television images of the future that is being pumped into the head of America's children offers the vision of a future haulocaust with total or near total destruction of the Natural World. The survivors of that haulocaust, according to these TV writers, will be those techno–aristocrats who find some answers in the form of man–produced and man–controlled environments. Their scenario seems to be about half right. The haulocaust part seems logical, and the idea that different technologies will be employed by humans thereafter, but will that process (assuming human survival) produce the automatic–door controlled–environment city that we are presented in popular science fiction?

Highly complex technologies have tended to disappear with past civilizations. The Etruscans developed incredibly sophisticated ways of fusing tiny gold balls into decorative patterns more than two thousand years ago. Modern science has been able to duplicate the effect, but we're still not certain how they did it then. People built great pyramids in Egypt and in Mexico, but the technology of stone cutting and moving was lost for hundreds of generations. There are numerous other examples of lost technolgies, but one must ask why techniques of doing things could become forgotten.

Perhaps it was because those techniques of doing things cost those societies more than they could afford to pay. We should consider those questions when we look at technology from the perspective of the Twentieth Century. Technologies which generate centralization and which support that centralization are the very ones which pose a danger to the Life Support Index of our environment, just as similar (and now antiquated) technologies for the same purpose destroyed the LSI of civilizations past.

When the West makes an error, it tends to compensate for that error by continuing to make the same mistake, only at an accelerated rate. Those TV writers are crazy. They are telling the children of North America that Super–civilization technology got us into this mess, and Super–Super–civilization technology will get us out. That's crazy.

The Hopis are right. The power lines are a symbol of the end of this world as we know it.

John Mohawk

Power Lines

The "Achilles' Heel" Of Centralized Energy

Editors' note: This article comes to us through the efforts of HOLD THAT LINE, the official publication of a Minnesota farmers' organization called, General Assembly To Stop The Powerline (G.A.S.P.).

The fact that a struggle of such magnitude is occurring somewhere in North America may provide, we hope, other indians and non-indian brothers and sisters with a better understanding of the totality of what we are involved in.

G.A.S.P. may be contacted at: Box 5, Lowry, Minnesota, 56349.

The first lines were strung across the Great Plains and over the mountains a hundred years ago. Telegraph lines. Instant communication coast to coast. There is a old picture of an Indian on the open prairie in the winter with his ear close to the pole, and he listens to an electric hum. Written on his face is the understanding that his children will not be allowed the use of the land of their ancestors.

But the pace had quickened. The wooden pole stuck in the ground has given way to giant lattice steel towers reaching up into the sky almost 200 feet. A house could be built inside the towers base. These lines don't hum like the old telegraph line did,either. These are extra high voltage BENG power lines, and they sizzle and fry like strips of flesh in a pan over a hot fire. Loud. Sometimes near the line one can feel the electricity crawling on the skin and throbbing in the brain. And along with the power lines, there is an understanding being written on the faces of the new Indians, the farmers who listen to that sound and feel the electricity, and think about their children.

Power lines. Already they crisscross the land like treacherous webs of some cosmic spider. If the corporations get their way, there will be a whole lot more of them, and they will be much bigger than those we have yet experienced. For there are many nukes and acid coal fired plants scheduled to be built in the next twenty years, and for every one of them, the web must be expanded. Indeed, without extra high voltage power lines EHV, there is no "hard" centralized energy development path to follow: No Nukes, no huge coal facilities, no uranium mining, milling or reprocessing, no huge slurry pipelines or gasification plants, and no way for the corporate empire to blackmail the people of the earth into abandoning decentralized, cheaper, safer and renewable energy sources which are at our disposal.

EHV power lines are the achilles heel of that empire. They are the vulnerable tendons of the disease which rip the power from our lands and uses it to fill the pockets of misbegotten social deviants who insist upon pursuing private visions of some psychotic mind. EHV power lines are the pipelines of corporate empire which must, if it is to survive, jeopardize the ability of our mother earth to sustain life. The power lines can be fought, and they can be beaten. After all, they must come across our lands. When we have figured how to effectively fight against them all across this country, we will have figured out much of what we need to know to bring this empire to its knees before it collapses of its own insufferable weight and drags us all down with it. What follows is a discussion of the tactis which have been developed by farmers across central Minnesota during the past five years in their fight against 800–KV power lines, and the issues which have emerged during the course of the struggle. Let us look at the issues.

1. HEALTH AND SAFETY

The technology of Extra High Voltage transmission systems is a very new technology, and there is quite a vaccum along with much contradictory evidence in the scientific community regarding it nonetheless, the powerline that runs through Minnesota is a deadly means of energy transportation. The health effects of the line are every bit as dangerous as the radiation that leaks out of the Three Mile Island Nuclear Plant by the emmissions of coal plants which form acid rain. The danger of line comes from shock, ionized gases formed by the coreona discharge, and from exposure to the electromagnetic field.

SHOCK – Available literature indicates that shock should be no more than "annoying inconvenience", yet there have already been dangerous jolts experienced under the lines. While long term problems created by repeated shocking should not be ignored, it is only a matter of time until a shock is the secondary cause of death or serious injury to someone working with machinery and the line.

AIR IONS – Air ion, or charged particles, are associated primarily with DC lines. The 1977 Minnesota Department of Health report, Public Health and Safety Effects of High Voltage Overhead Transmission Lines, views air ions with particular concern, stating, " In fact , it can be reasonably argued that the space charged field (which form the ion cloud) from a public health and safety perspective is the dominant DC effect."

The immediate effect of overexposure to negative ions is similiar to the effect of too much alcohol. Overexposure to positive ions brings on headaches and a mental state of irriability and depression. Long term effects of ion exposure are not well understood. Air ions also reduce the resistance of the atmosphere around the power lines, thus increasing the strength of the electromagnetic field.

CORNEA DISCHARGE – The amount of cornea discharge, or ions(?) lost, depends upon the line voltage at the diameter of the conductor. Any imperfection on the conductor, such as dust, scratches, corrosive strips, or water will cause extremely high localized discharge. Corroded discharge means that some of the electrons escape from the wire into the surrounding atmosphere, where they collide with air molecules.

Those air molecules are chemically activated and can form new molecules, including ozone and nitric oxide. These chemicals are highly toxic to plants, animals and human life, even in very small concentrations. One ozone molecule, 12 million air molecules can be dangerous to humans. Nitric oxides are ten times as toxic as ozones, and may combine with water in the air to cause acid rain to fall along the line route.

Preliminary calculations indicate that for every day the line is fully operating, each mile of the line will produce 60 pounds of ozones and 40 pounds of nitric oxides! The line is over 425 miles long.

They symptoms of ozone and nitric oxide contamination are similiar, the initial effects include sinus trouble, the misery of a asthma attack. Other effects include chest pains, rapid heartbeat, vomiting, coughing up blood, swollen glands, burning eyes. disrrehea, dizziness, and forgetfullness. Long term effects include lung and heart damage and possible chromosone damage.

Cornea discharge information source, Dr. Merle Hirsh, Physics Department, University of Minnesota, Morris, authority of electrical discharges in the atmosphere.

ELECTROMAGNETIC FIELDS – The most subtle hazard posed by this powerline come from exposure to electromagnetic fields. Indeed, there is consensus throughout the scientific community that much more research need to be done on the relationship between EMF and life. If there is a substantial body of knowledge on the effects of EMF. Just as the EMF is our most reliable information carrier, press, radio, television, etc. Living nature has used EMF in the process of evolution to obtain information about changes in the environment as well as for the transmission, coding and storage of information within biological beings.

It has been found that in some cases the reaction of living organisms to EMF occur only at certain "optimum" intensities. In other cases the effects increase with the intensity of the EMF is reduced, and in other cases the reaction to low and high intensities are of opposite natures. Cumulative biological effects produced by repeated exposure to EMF at intensities well below the effective threshold for a single exposure have been

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POWERLINES CONTINUED

observed. There is a virtually limitless number variables which influence the effect of exposure on any particular living thing.

The informational aspects of the interaction of EMF and biological organisms is very important, because these effect can NOT depend upon the amount of ENERGY introduced into the system, but on the amount of information introduced into it. This is known as the "trigger phenononem" because very small amounts of energy can trigger major biological changes. Thus, in a 1977 document prepared for the utility industry and the federal government by Battelle Pacific NorthWest Labratory entitled *Biological Effects of Static and Low Frequency Electro Magnetic Fields: An Overview of United States Literature*, it is reported that a ten KV/meter electric field (which is exactly the same field permitted by the construction permits at ground level for this DC powerline) increases brain wave acitivity and decreases postier hypothalmic activity in rats. "Hypothalmic" refers to the brain's ability to control bodily functions. In their own ad campaign to convince people of the safety of the powerlines, the utilities admit that utility studies have found that EMF caused delayed reaction time that is admitting that the central nervous system is affected.

Additional biological effects of EMF which have been noted experimentally include the symptons of stress, decreased body weight from one generation of rats to the next, proathomol abnormalities, glucoma, and changes in blood chemistry: blood protein count increase in the count of antibodies fluctuated, some increasing and some decreasing, depending on the field strength in the specific antibodies. Impotence, sterility, and an increase in the instance of blood cancer have been linked to long–term EMF exposure.

An excellent article covering the genral subject of EMF effects on health was published in the September 15, 1979 issue of *Saturday Review*.

It is a strange concidence that people who live and work along the line route have experienced the following effects of this powerline, with children being the most sensitive: headaches, skin rashes, nose and throat bleeding, fatigue, numbness, nervousness, respiratory problems, eye problems, tingling sensations all over the body, and forgetfulness.

The utilities claim that all that may very well be, but its all pshycosomatic. Yet fish have abandoned streams under the powerline, wildlife is gone from state owned land near the line, and farmers under the line are having problems with their livestock which they never had before. Livestock under the line is skiddish, jumpy, milk production has been reduced because cows have trouble letting down their milk, and there have been some increases in livestock abortions, deformities at some point along the line route, and cows passing under the line come in for milking and kick all over the barn. Things were not like this before the powerlines came. but these developments are also, no doubt, psychosomatic.

2. COST AND NEED

The cost of centralizing energy development is enormous. The cost of the CUV Project which Minnesota farmers are fighting alreadys stands at 1.24 billion dollars, and it is still going up. If we grant that the Project will deliver 900 megawatts (MW) of electricity, there is a cost of 1,348 dollars per kilowatt. While that figure is high for a coal fired facility (due to terrible management), it is not only an indication of things to come, but it is also equal to the current cost of a nuclear facility if you don't count the cost of fueling the nukes, the commissioning it, or dealing with nuclear wastes. For comparison, there are two MW wind systems in operation at a cost of only $360 per kilowatt, and wind is the most expensive alternative energy.

On the other hand, the utility industry nationwide is building facitilties to meet a projected annual increase of about 8% per year in peak demand. Such growth hasn't occurred since the early '70s. It's been around 1 to 3% for the past several years, and during the 1978–79 period, there has been a growing number of systems which are actually experiencing a DECLINING growth rates. Considering the fact that the U.S. currently uses electricity for over 13% of its end use energy needs while there is no need for that figure to be above 6 or 7%: consider the fact the conservation is increasingly in the mind of the public; and considering the fact that the price of electricity is going out of sight, it should not be too difficult to predict that declining growth rates will become the rule rather than the exception in years to come. If the industry persists in the folly that somehow, the more electricity costs, the more it will be used. They are proceeding accordingly.

THEIR ISSUE – EMINENT DOMAIN

Quite obviously, people are not at all anxious to be living next to these aerial sewers, and so the line right of way must be acquired through condemnation procedures and the use of eminent domain. The question then becomes " By what right are corporations allowed to private or sovereign land for the benefit of the empire builders?" A host of related issues regarding the "fairness" of the condemnation process must also be dealth with.

4. ILLEGAL CORPORATE PROCEEDINGS AND CIVIL RIGHTS VIOLATIONS

Invariably, the utilities and their corporate bureaucratic allies operate on the assumption that they are a law unto themselves. While the Minnesota experience is not unique in this regard, it does illustrate how far out of control things can get. Contrary to state law, adequate notice was not given to the public or specific individuals regarding condemnation procedures: licenses and certificates were issued by the state out of the proper sequence; required public meetings for those licenses were not held or when they were held, the sworn testimony of farmers and expert witnesses hired by farmers to talk about health and safety was deleted from the official transcript, none of the required forecasting around the question of "need" was done, and on and on.

Once construction was begun (which was before the required permits were obtained) the rights of citizens were repeatedly violated with impunity. The boundaries of the condemned easements were repeatedly violated, private armies of "security personnel" and up to 300 state police threatened to come and harrass, intimidated, arrested, and assaulted people along the line route (and this continued to one degree or another to this day); and farmers were arrested for sitting down on their own land with their friends and neighbors in protest of the totalitarion , steamroller tactics. The line was built with brutal force.

5. PUBLIC MONEY FOR PRIVATE PROPERTY

Many of the "hard path" energy facilities under construction or in the planning stages involve the use of public financing through the federal Rural Electrification Administration. Yet the beneficiares of these projects are invariably the controllers of private utility and energy corporations. Nationwide, there are almost 20 billion dollars in tax money which are already directly subsiding the private energy sector, and the plan is to use the REA system to the tune of about 12 billion dollars a year through 1995 to commence developmentjt sources: *Lines Across the Land* done by the Environmental Policy Institute out of Washington, D.C.

6. "HARD" VERSUS "SOFT" ENERGY DEVELOPMENT

Implicit in the issues listed above is the fact that as far as the corporations and the governmental backing are concerned, the "hard" has already and irrevocably been chosen. Yet the alternatives still exist and they are slowly but surely being developed by protesting farmers and a lot of other people who are realizing that our survival depends upon timely development of these renewable and decentralized resources.

Those are among the issues in the Minnesota powerlines "controversy". Right now, the situation in Minnesota is that the lines are up and have been in commercial operation since July 1979. So the utilities have claimed every victory they can claim, and they've made the most of it. Yet the organized resistance to the powerline remains very much intact. That organization has been down as far as it will ever go (at least until the line is removed), and has been growing stronger in the last several months as new information surfaces, electric rates increase throughout rural Minnesota (and the utilities fail to pin the blame to those increases on protest activities – not for lack of trying, tho (and is helped by facing effects of new damage to those near the line.) We do not intend to lose this fight. Let us then turn to the tactics which have carried through to this point.

TOTAL TACTICS

In a nutshell, the tactic we have been developing through the years (and that we have finally recognized and begun to analyze) calls for everybody who can to do as much as possible in the arena of their choice, and to do it as many times as is practical, necessary, or prudent. The provision, of course, is that the overriding issue of who is doing what to whom is "hyped" or clarified, not clouded. When an entire community comes to such an understanding, it is possible to mobilize the necessary resources to accomplish the particular task at hand without wasteful or destructive bickering about sectarion "theoretical correctness."

"The particular task at hand" usually falls into one of three categorys, the first of which could be called "legal remedies". "Legal remedies" refers to our attempts to find solutions to our problems through the existing power structure's "legitimate" social institutions. In a "free and democratic society" such as ours, the list of these remedies is virtually endless. And the only way to prove that these "remedies" are not designed to work for the people is to try them all, try them all again, try them a third time, and so forth, and then make up new ones and keep on trying them too. Occasionally there are great or minor victories won in this manner, but it is of paramount importance to exhaust, and continually exhaust legal remedies if the total tactic is to be legitimized in the collective mind of society.

As mentioned earlier, the corporations act as if they are a law unto themsekves. Powerline protestors have spent over $100,000 in legal fees challenging that assumption. Invariably, however, the attude of the court has been that the protestors are right, the utilities have violated the law and are very naughty and should never ever act like that again but we're sure that they've learned their lesson and the only thing that will be accomplished by going back and correcting the situation would be to cause unnecessary delays and further cost increases. So proceed with the project. Oh well.

There have been times when whole communities, schools, and businesses have shut down and everybody showed up at the state capital to try and get some decent action out of the politicians. Legislative hearing after hearing have been attended and we have even forced the legislature into special hearings. Time after time we have appealed to the governor (we're on our third one) to use his powers in our behalf. Time after time, of course, the politicians realized that we cannot be ignored and there is the frantic search for a few more stale crumbs tossed our way. We have usually managed to put those crumbs to good use, too.

Due to the fact that state agencies are responsible for licensing these facilities, as well as for protecting the health of Minnesota's citizens, there has been a constant and continuing effort to put the bureaucrats on the spot for failing to fulfil their legal obligations. Countless hearings have been attended, with or without invitation, and when possible, persons in an official capacity (bureaucrats and politicians alike) are invited out into the country to meet with protestors. There is slow progress being made, particularly with the state health department over health issues.

Elections can provide excellent forums for discussing vital issues if an appropriate emphasis is placed on winning. During the 1978 Democratic primary a power line protestor named Alice Tripp ran for governor against incumbent Rudy Perpich. Alice is a farmwoman and retired English teacher. She spent less than $5000 on her campaign and stated that she "would be out there taking down towers too, but I'm not too good with a wrench because of my arthritis." Alice got over 20% of the vote, almost 100,000 votes, and at least 14% in every county in the state. She got that vote in spite of a last minute media smear campaign, and at a time when the utilities were claiming that the powerline protest consisted of about "30 burnt–out farmers." Later, in the general election, a fellow named Al Quie took the governor's office from Perpich by about 100,000 votes.

POWERLINES CONTINUED NEXT PAGE

POWERLINES CONTINUED

Undoubtedly, we will be active in electoral politics during the 1980 election.

The list of "legal remedies" goes on and on, including a bi-weekly newsletter called Hold That Line, fundraising, community education programs, alternative energy projects, letters to the editor, organizing at local REA co–ops, maintaining a working relationship with the media, and so forth. Most of the decisions about what to do next in this arena are made at meetings of the General Assembly to Stop the Powerline (GASP), which meets at least once a month and is attended by sixty to one hundred fifty people. GASP also elects a board of trustees to oversee the defense fund.

As mentioned earlier, the powerline was built by brute force. After the state supreme court ruled in October 1978 that it was all right for state agencies and utilities to violate the law full–scale construction was begun. Farmers responded very creatively: boulders were used to block equipment and were also dumped along with very smelly things down into the tower foundation holes; survey crews were laced with manure from manure spreaders; chainsaws were used to drown out radio communications. Survey stakes never stayed in the ground for more than a few hours.

The utilities responded by sueing the most militant farmers for $500,000 each and a lot of people were temporarily scared away. About that time the idea of civil disobedience was introduced by movement people from the cities, and the idea caught on. From December 1977 to the Spring of 1978 protestors would meet every morning at the Lowry, Minnesota Town Hall and decide the scene of confrontation, and head out into the field. For three solid weeks in January, there were between 500 and 1000 people every day, and on occassion the cops (there were about 300 of them) used helicopters to airlift work crews from our path. The rest of the time, there were between 100 and 500 people every day. When we were stronger than the cops, work was halted, often with several protestors being arrested on misdemeanor charges. When cops had the advantage, protestors learned to use civil disobedience.

During that winter, there were well over 100 arrests. It was the need to defend ourselves in criminal court which solidified the organization of GASP. That led to the election of trustees, the creation of a defense fund, and a committee of defense lawyers. Out of all those arrests, there were only three convictions, and most of the charges were dropped about a year later, before they went to trial.

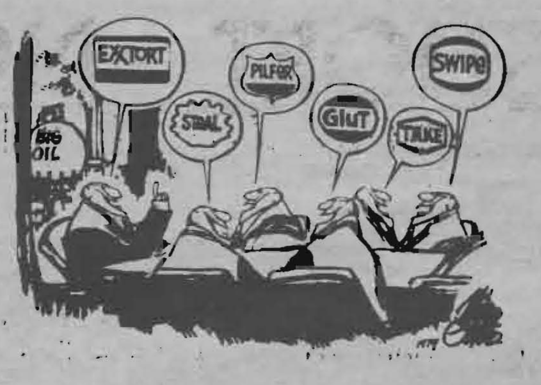
While we're on the subject of arrests, there have been close to 100 additional charges filed against protestors, including over 30 felonies. To date, we have suffered one felony conviction that stands every chance of being overturned on appeal, and one person is serving a year and a day for parole violation. Eight felony charges have been acquited before eight juries along with close to fifty misdemeanor charges. With a few exceptions that don't seem to be going anywhere, everything else has been dropped by the state due to insufficient evidence.

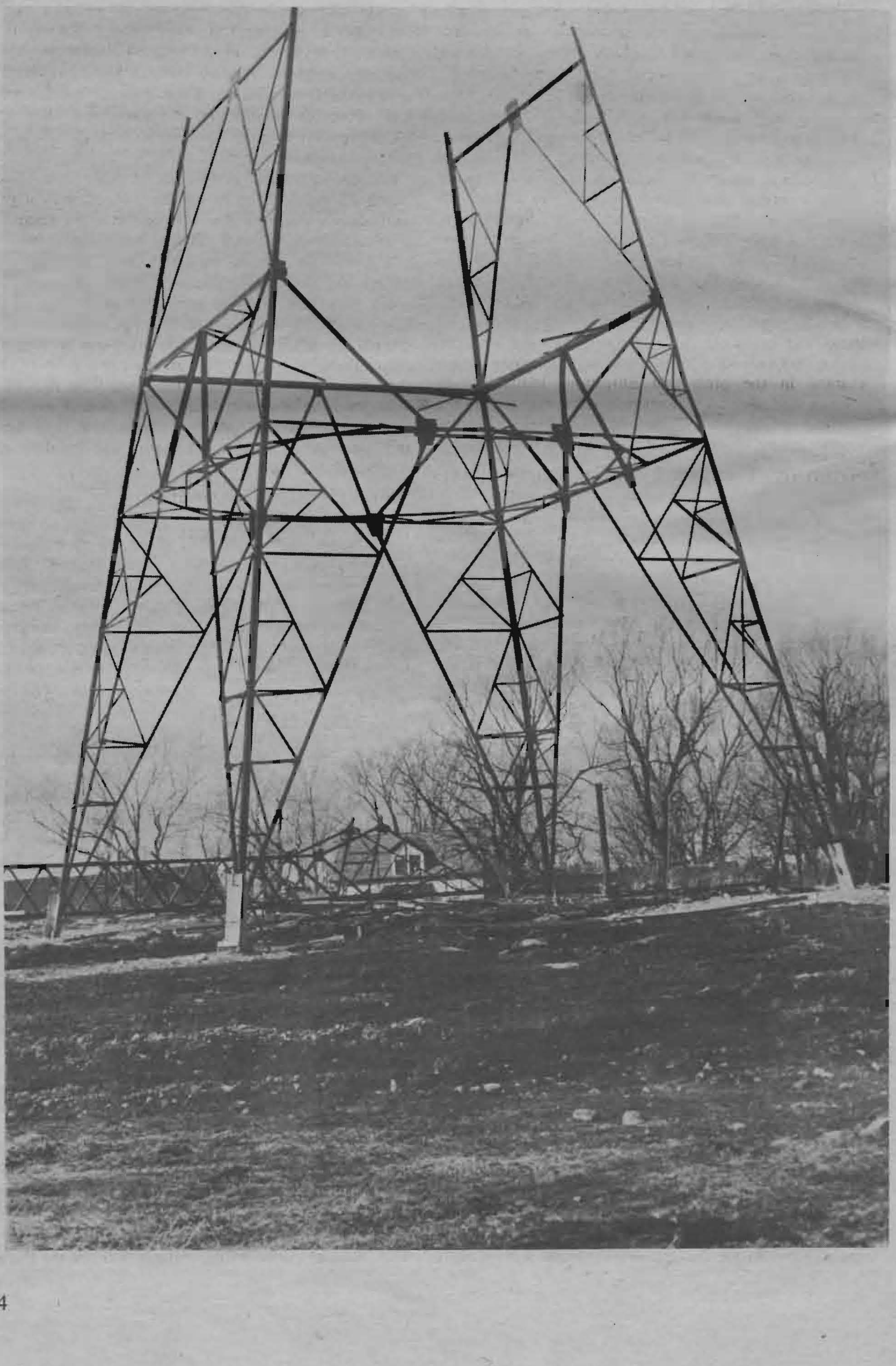
Civil disobedience provided us with a means of keeping ourselves focused and organized during these periods of much turmoil, and confusion. Because of the publicity surrounding all of the attempted legal remedies which preceded it, civil disobedience also gave the media an on–going tale to tell, and that gave us much sympathy and support.

But the line was built with brute force anyway, and because of the continually attempted legal remedies, because of the use of civil disobedience, and because in the course of these activities a very good job was done in educating the public about the issues involved, an atmosphere was created in which sabatage was the logical next step. Because of that atmosphere, it has proven to be impossible for the state or the corporations to brand the protest movement as anti–social terrorist – though they certainly have tried to do just that. In spite of the fact that there is a $100,000 reward for information leading to the arrest and conviction of people doing damage to the line, there have been *no* arrests for such activities. The point to be remembered at all costs is that damage to specific properties does not cloud the issues if the right atmosphere has been created. At this point in time, it is the primary thing that keeps the issues alive for us. But damage to persons does cloud the issue. The hurt person(s) becomes the issue then, instead of who is doing what to who.

During the summer of 1978, there were bonfires, wiener roasts close to construction sites along the line route four or five nights a week, and they were attended by up to two hundred men, women, and children. It's hard to say exactly what all went on at these events, but the utilities accused us of being "infectatious." Since then, most of the damage seems to have been done by "bolt weevils," "cut worms," and a strange virus called "insulator disease." Ten towers have fallen, about ten thousand insulators have had to be replaced, the conductors have had to be spliced and respliced, and the line gets turned off four or five times a week. The line is an extrememly unreliable source of electricity.

Powerline protestors have also learned how important it is to put the "total tactic" into the perspective of a national movement. To that end, protestors are willing to travel to speak anywhere if our expenses are covered, and protestors are in active alliance with the Northern Sun Alliance of the Twin Cities and the Black Hills Alliance of South Dakota. With these groups there is a rally – demonstration – organizing conference being planned for January 18 – 20, 1980 in the Twin Cities. It would be good to see you there.





SHORT NOTES

CANADA RECOGNIZED ACID RAIN THREAT

Canada is pressing for an international clean–air agreement because pollution from older coal–fired plants in the U.S. is threatening 48,000 lake in Canada. They are calling for a reduction of acid–producing pollutants to less than 50 percent of present levels over the next ten years. It is estimated that 2 million tons of sulphur dioxide (the major ingredient in acid rains) migrates in the air from U.S. plants to Canadaian territory. Much of this pollution comes from the lower Ohio valley region. Canadian Minister of the Environment John Frasier has stated that acid rain "is the most serious environmental problem Canada has ever faced."

RED LAKE (MINN.) TRIBE REFUSED TO LET AUDITORS SEE BOOKS

In May of this year, members of the Red Lake Minnesota Band participated in a "civil disturbance" in opposition to the rule of tribal chairman Roger Jourdain. Spokespersons in opposition to Jourdain charged that the tribe's business affairs were being mismanaged and that federal funds were misspent, among other things. As a result of the action, the little town of Red Lake was practically destroyed and suffered an estimated $4 million in damages. On June 7, while the shooting was still going on and Chairman Jourdain was reportedly in hiding, the tribal officials agreed to make tribal records available for a thorough audit of federally–funded activities. Since then, however, tribal officials have repeatedly refused to allow auditors to see the records. Under Secretary of Interior James A. Joseph has directed the Bureau of Indian Affairs to take action against the Red Lake Tribe, including "possible" rejection of applications for federal grants and contracts until the auditors have seen the books. Activists who were involved in the May action charged in the press that Bureau of Indian Affairs officials had adequate knowledge of wrongdoings in the Jourdain administration but had failed to take any action because of political affiliations with Jourdain.

CLOUD OVER NORTHERN CHEYENNE OFFICIAL

A Montana newspaper, *The Billings Gazette,* has published quotes from a letter from the chairman of the Northern Cheyenne minerals committee which offers to withdraw opposition to the Colstrip Units 3 and 4 power projects in return for payment to the tribe of $1 million per year for the life of the plants. Earlier this year, the Environmental Protection Agency had given the green light to construction of the plants, stating that the plants' plans for pollution control adequately protect the Cheyenne's Class I air status. The Northern Cheyenne have asked the Ninth U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals to review the EPA decision. A power company spokesman told the *Gazette* that the company had no plans to pay the Cheyenne $1 million per year, but a member of the Cheyenne's minerals committee reported that the tribal council had not authorized any request for money. "Some of our tribal administrators seem to be acting for themselves, not for the good of the general population."

LAWYER–CLIENT RELATIONSHIP CONFUSING

Law firms seem to have much more influence and power in their relationships with Indian tribes than is common in other lawyer–client relationships. Take, for example, the case of the pending Black Hills claims. Eight Lakota tribal chairmen have expressed their opinion that the proposed settlement offered in payment for the Black Hills is unacceptable. The Pine Ridge Tribal Council has passed at least two resolutions expressing the same sentiment. Yet, so strong is the grip of the lawyer in the case that they have thus far failed to instruct their attorney, Arthur Lazarus, to cease actions which will result in the extinguishment of the Black Hills claim for $105 million.

The Lakotas aren't the only group which is apparently having problems communicating with their lawyers. The Oneidas of Wisconsin and the Thames Band (Ont.) Oneidas have recently filed a lawsuit seeking return of 5 million acres of land in upstate New York which was taken during the Nineteenth Century contrary to the provisions of the 1790 Non-Intercourse Act. Those groups had originally instructed their lawyers (the Native American Rights Fund) to design a lawsuit which could be joined by the traditional Oneidas of New York. But NARF has refused to allow the New York Oneidas to join the lawsuit and have done everything in their power to see that the New York Oneidas are denied entrance to the legal proceedings. On top of that, the lawsuit which NARF has filed may claim lands which properly lie in the Onondaga Territory. Thus far, the Thames and Wisconsin Oneidas have not ordered their attorneys to correct this bizarre situation, and that inaction could have serious legal ramifications as the suit progresses.

The inability of Indian tribes to translate their wishes into orders to their lawyers can have disastrous results. The Western Shoshones, for example, have publicly expressed the position that they do not wish to accept payment for lands in Nevada which have not already been legally taken. They even fired their original lawyer in order to maintain their valid title to the land. But in December, their current attorney, Reed Chambers, took action which even he admits resulted in an action which has extinguished forever the Western Shoshone claim to their lands. It may not be possible to correct this tragic loss unless the Shoshones can show that they gave specific orders to their attorney to take specific action to stop the claim.

In common sense as well as in law, it is almost impossible to be excused from the consequences of your own voluntary actions. This rule applies to the actions of your attorneys as well. Indian governments will be bound by the acts of their attorneys whether they understood the consequences of those actions or not unless they took steps to control those actions. In the Black Hills case, the Lakota governments have inexplicitly failed to order their attorneys to stop the claim. Perhaps it is not clear to the tribal councils that they must do so in order to protect their rights and interests in these claims. Indirect actions such as passing tribal resolutions will not serve the purpose. Only direct and clear instructions to the attorneys involved will accomplish the intended goals.

FOUNDATION ESTABLISHED

The Viola Whitewater Foundation was established to try to give assistance to needy Native organizations in the areas of education, arts and crafts, and general assistance. Donations to the foundation are tax–deductible. Write to them at: Viola Whitewater Foundation, 220 Fourth Street, New Cumberland, Pennsylvania 17109.

BRAZIL: DISEASE, POLITICS THREATEN YANOMAMO SURVIVAL

The story of the Yanomamo Indians who number more than 8,000 people and live in scores of villages along the border between Venezuela and Brazil has been repeated over and over again in the recent occupation of the Brazilian Amazon. In 1974 the Brazilian government began construction of the Northern Perimeter Highway, a road that forms part of the TransAmazon Highway network and passes through the southern part of Yanomamo Territory.

Diseases carried by highway workers have already destroyed 13 villages along the first 100 kilometers of the new road. Brazilian anthropologist Alcida Ramos, who was present at the time of the initial invasion by highway workers witnessed the Indians in a state of misery, sickness and shock. The Indians refused to speak their language. Their gardens had been uprooted by bulldozers and they were wearing ragged clothing given to them by highway workers which was infested with influenza, tuberculosis, measles and other disease organisms.

Large deposits of uranium and casiterite, an ore used in production of tin, have also been discovered in the Surucucus region of Yanomamo Territory. This region contains 74 Yanomamo villages with a population of 4500 people. Uncontrolled contacts between the Indians and outsiders devastated the Yanomamo at Surucucus. In less than two years illnesses killed more than half of the Indians at a mission station. Armed conflicts have also broken out between the Indians and prospectors over scarce food resources.

Currently 3,000 prospectors are waiting in the frontier town of Boa Vista for government authorization to invade the Indian land. In 1977, the Brazilian National Indian Foundation (FUNAI) conducted its first aerial photographic survey of the Yanomamo area. Based on the results of this survey, FUNAI declared that 21 Indian reserves would be created for the supposed protection of the Yanomamo who live in the federal territory of Roraina, and the adjacent state of Amazonas. The Indian agency's own data show that more than 2900 people living in 58 villages are not included in this reserve proposal. Highway and settlement corridors are planned to run between almost all of these reserves and no provisions have been made for satisfying demographic, ecological and subsistence needs of the tribe.

Last June, a group of Brazilian citizens submitted a counter proposal to the Brazilian government calling for the immediate creation of a 16 million acre Yanamamo Indian Park. The Indian Park, in contrast to the reserve proposal, would provide a single continuous land area for the Yanomamo tribe. Despite broad public support for this proposal, the Brazilian government has made no decision on the establishment of the Indian Park, nor have steps been taken by Brazillian authorities to vaccinate the Yanomamo against measles, tuberculosis, malaria, influenza, river blindness and other lethal diseases.

Presently a campaign is under way to bring international pressure to bear against the actions of the Brazilian government. Letters and telegrams are being sent to the Brazilian government calling for the immediate creation of the Yanomamo Park. A petition has also been submitted to the Secretary General of the United Nations requesting that an international fact–finding commission be sent to South America to investigate the situation of the Yanomamo in both Venezuela and Brazil.

Observers of Brazilian politics are not optimistic about prospects for the future. Former FUNAI President Adhemar Ribeiro da Silva, a civilian, has resigned. The new president, Col. Jose Carlos Nobre da Veiga, is a former head of information and security for Bocegeo, the exploration company for Vale do Rio Doce,. Vele do Rio Doce is one of the largest mining companies in the world. It is owned by the Brazilian government. Bocegeo is the company which is trying to obtain authorization to do the mineral prospecting on Yanomamo land.

There is also a move by several congressmen from Amazona and some business interests from the frontier area to introduce a new national law which would transfer Indian affairs from federal to state jurisdiction. The Yanomamo are presently located in what Brazil considers to be a federal territory. Transfer of Indian affairs from the federal government to the states would have the effect of placing the Yanomamo under the tender mercies of those interests which covet their lands and resources, and would open the territories to a ruthless exploitation in which the rights of the Indians to survive would not even receive the pretense of recognition under Brazilian law. The governor of Roraima is trying to turn the territory into a state. If that happens according to plan, none of the land in that area will be under federal jurisdiction. The Brazilian government appears to be poised to take steps which would relieve it of responsibility for protecting Indians as a national policy. The most efficient way for that to happen would be for the federal government to pass that responsibility on to the states.

COURT UPHOLD TAX–FREE LIQUOR SALES

On October 1, 1979, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that the State of New Mexico cannot require the Mescalaero Apache Tribe to obtain a state liquor license for liquor sales on the reservation. The Court found that the Mescaleros have full authority over liquor sales on the reservation and that the state has no authority to enforce liquor laws on Indian land.

SHORT NOTES

THE MYTH OF LEGAL GAINS

The news media has been portraying the last few years as a time when smart Indian lawyers have been making startling gains in the courts toward regaining some of their lands. But it's not that way, according to Indian Law Resource Center director R.T. Coulter. "All the media stories in the last few years about Indians taking over the state of Main and half of New York have given a false impression. There have been no meaningful victories in the field of Indian Affairs."

THE FIRST SOLAR ELECTRIC VILLAGE

On December 16, 1978, the Papago village of Schuchuli became the first village in the world to be powered by photovoltaic power modules. Schuchuli is located 120 miles west of Tuscon, Arizona. The system is comprised of 3 rows of eight 4' by 8' panels each containing eight photovoltaic power modules. Each module is composed of 42 solar cells which convert visible sunlight directly into electricity. It cost $333,400, is supposed to provide 6,226 KWH/yr and has 2,380 Ampere–hours of battery storage. The system is providing direct current for a water pump for the village, 15 small refrigerators, a community clothes washer and sewing machine, and more than 40 20–watt/120 volt DC flourescent lights. The project is an experiment by the National Aeronautics and Space Administration's Lewis Research Center. Some critics believe that photovoltaic power generation is too expensive and that introduction of this type of system into Third World remote communities will place a burden and a hardship on the economies of those communities.

PROSPECTING OPPOSED BY BAKER LAKE INUIT

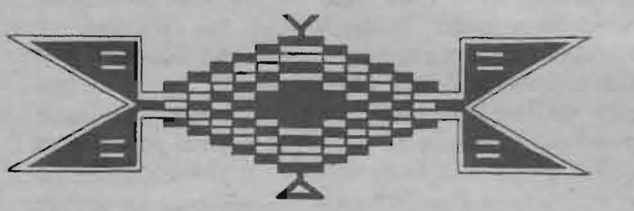
The Baker Lake Inuit Community of the Northwest Territories is seeking a court order prohibiting any further development in their ancestral hunting grounds. They state that aerial prospecting being undertaken by oil companies is altering the migration patterns of the caribou, the mainstay of their diet.

CRUCIFIXION CITED

New York State Senator James H. Donovan cited the crucifixion of Christ as a justification for capital punishment. "Where would Christianity be," he asked, "If Jesus got eight to fifteen years, with time off for good behavior?"

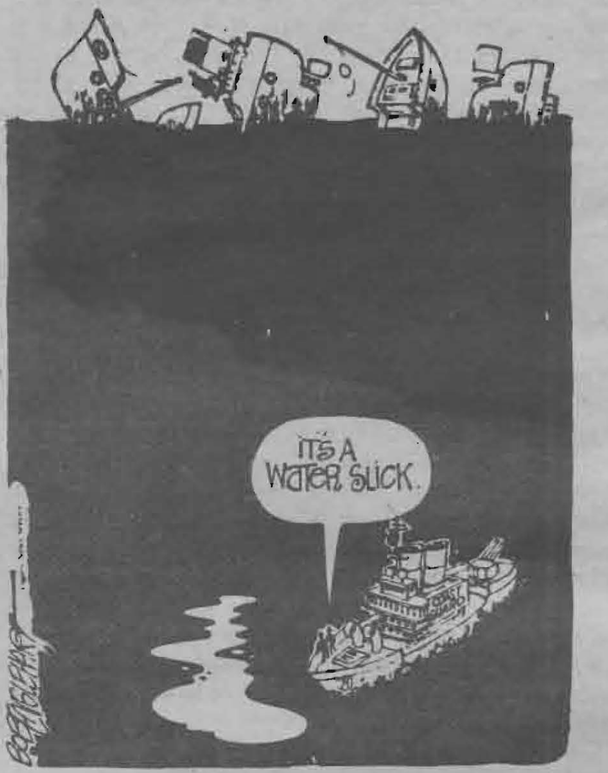
NEW BIA COMMISSIONER NAMED

William Hallet, 37, of the Red Lake (Minn.) Chippewa community has been named the new Bureau of Indian Affairs Commissioner. Hallett is President Carter's nominee for the job, and must be confirmed by the Senate. Hallett is a former National Congress of American Indians (NCAI) official, and comes recently from Denver where he worked for the Department of HOusing and Urban Development (HUD).



YUKON OIL PIPLINE PLANS SCRAPPED

For the time being, at least, Foothills Oil Pipelines has withdrawn its application to build an oil pipeline along the Alaska Highway. The $15 billion natural gas pipeline project, believed to have the support of Canada's Conservative government, would have crossed lands of Native peoples in the Yukon Territories. It is believed that the application withdrawal was triggered because Foothill Oil Pipelines was unable to compile project impact information in time to meet a December deadline set by President Carter.



ARIZONA GROUNDWATER COMMISSION IGNORES INDIANS

Richard Wilks, an attorney for the Salt River Pima Maricopa Indian Community, has charged that the Arizona Groundwater Management Study Commission has completely ignored the rights and needs of the Indian peoples in Arizona. The commission has recommended sweeping changes in the law governing allocation and use of groundwater. Under Arizona law, recommendations by the Commission will automatically become law in 1981 unless the Legislature acts on its recommendations. Indian leaders strongly recommended that the Commission negotiate water questions with the Indians, but they were ignored by the Commission, Wilks said. The only Indian member of the Commission, Papago Tribal Chairman Cecil Williams, resigned in protest when the commission moved out of the groundwater area and proposed changes in the state's procedure for adjudication of surface water rights.

PIT RIVER INDIANS REJECT LAND CLAIM AWARD

The Pit River Indians of Northern California rejected their share of a 1969 Indian Claims Commission award of $29 million for 8 million acres of land. They say that they still own 3 million acres of that land and have sent the payment checks back.

RUSSIA NEVER RULED MOST OF ALASKA

A recent issue of TUNDRA TIMES, Alaska's oldest weekly, carried information that an official communication from the Imperial Russian Government to the U.S. Secretary of State in 1867 stated that Russia had never been able to extend its sovereignty over much of Alaska at the time of the U.S. purchase. The document was found in the U.S. archives and was signed by Imperial Russian State councillor Kostivizov. Discovery of the document raises the possibility of reopening the Alaska Native claims settlement because of inadequate disciosure on the part of the U.S. at the time Alaska Natives were offered "awards" for their land claims.

HAWAIIAN NATIVES STRUGGLE FOR LANDS

Hawaii was an independent nation until 1893, when it was "annexed" by the United States. During World War II, the Navy "took over" Kahoolawe Island for bombing practice. But now, a Native organization called Ohana (the family) has been leading demonstrations and occupations on Kahoolawe in an effort to have the island returned to Native ownership as guaranteed under the Hawaiian Homestead Act. Some 17% of the population of Hawaii is Native.

RADIOACTIVE CONTAMINATION FOUND IN WELLS

Radioactive contamination has been found in drinking water in wells on four Indian reservations. The Indian health Service and the EPA found raioactive contaminants in 19 of the 150 wells tested. Rep. Morris K. Udall (D. Ariz.) stated, "No one knows for sure the source, nature, or extent of the radiation contamination of the wells so far." The contamination found is in excess of standards proposed by the EPA. The reservations, which are as yet unnamed, are located in Arizona, New Mexico, and California.

MAPUCHE INDIANS FACE THREAT TO LANDS

The Chilean government of General Augusto Pinochet is considering new laws which would destroy the tribal land ownership patterns of the Mapuche people and would transfer the lands to individual owners. The move is justified by the government as one which will accomplish the "integration" of the Mapuche into Chilean society. The Mapuche consider the move an act of ethnocide and Chile's "final answer" to the "Indian problem." The U.S. made a similar move under the Dawes Act in 1886. The Dawes Act resulted in the "transfer" of millions of acres of land from Indian hands to non–Indian hands, and was denounced on the floor of Congress as the biggest land swindle of the 19th Century.

DID FILM MAKER STRONGARM PERUVIAN INDIAN VILLAGE?

Film–maker Werner Herzog (AGUIRRE, WRATH OF GOD,) denies that he was a part of allegations of force and coercion used against a Peruvian Indian village. Herzog and his crew went to Wawaim, an Aguaruna Indian village, in July with plans to use the village in a film about Fitzcarrald, a notorious rubber baron who kept the Indians of the area in virtual slavery around the turn of the century. The Indians say that when they objected to the use of their town for the film, their village was visited by soldiers who shot into the air, threatened them and forced them to sign an agreement allowing the filming. Four of the villagers were allegedly arrested. Herzog issued a statement which read, in part: "I am not causing havoc to the Aguarunas, I am not that kind of man." But all 39 members of the Wawaim assembly have signed a statement condemning the action and the events were confirmed by the Aguaruna Assembly who represent the tribe in Peru.

No More Genocide Against The RedMan!!!
Project For Black Needs

SHORT NOTES

KLAMATH HUNTING AND FISHING RIGHTS UPHELD

The Supreme Court has upheld lower court decisions which recognized that the Klamath Indians retained their rights to hunt, fish and trap on nearly one million acres of land which were lost when the Klamaths were terminated in 1954. Five Klamath Indians filed suit in 1973 against Oregon regulation of their hunting and fishing rights which were guaranteed by treaty. The courts have extended the hunting and fishing rights to descendants of the members of the final tribal roll which was closed at the time of termination. In 1954 the Klamaths were victims of what has been described as a gigantic land rip–off during which they lost almost a million acres of land to the federal government and private industry and citizens. The Klamath Tribe was "terminated" (exterminated as a legally recognized entity) ostensibly to allow the Klamath people to enjoy full United States citizenship.

"YEAR OF INDIGENOUS PEOPLES" PROPOSED TO U.N.

The Norwegian government has sent a letter to the United Nations suggesting that 1980 or the first possible year thereafter be designated the Year of Indigenous Peoples. The Norwegian Ambassador to the U.N. has already presented the proposal to Secretary General of the U.N. Mr. Kurt Waldheim.

MOWACHAHT INDIANS SUFFER FROM PULP MILL POLLUTION

During the early 1960s, the Tahsis Pulp Mill Company tried to purchase Reserve 12 of the Mowachaht Indians of Gold River British Columbia. The Indians wouldn't sell, so in 1963 the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development intervened in the negotiations and they (DIA) leased most of the 40 acres reserved land to the Tahsis company for 75 years. The Tahsis company built a paved road across the reserve, destroying the community's cemetery, and offering no compensation. This autumn, the Mowachaht Indians barricaded that road, protesting the pollution from the plant. They say that the pulp mill operated 24 hours a day and that sawdust from the mill infects people's eyes, that the children get sores when they swin in the waters near the plant, and that the fish now have burn spots on them. They also say that the older people get skin rashes from clothing hung outside in the sawdust polluted air, that the children have ear infections from the continuous noise and that the trees are dying from the air pollution.

ENVIRONMENT "GETS THE AXE" FROM U.S. GOVERNMENT

President Carter has signed the Tellico Dam Bill, assuring the extinction of a rare fish called the snail darter. The Atomic Safety and Licensing Board has cleared the way for operation of the Diablo Canyon nuclear power plant (California) by its ruling that the plant could withstand the worst probable earthquake. The U.S. State Department has approved construction of a Westinghouse–built nuclear power plant in the Phillipines where it will sit amoung four active volcanoes and three earthquake faults. The Supreme Court has given the green light to construction of several new hotel/casino operations at Lake Tahoe. The Federal Energy Regulatory Commission seems poised to approve a plan to build a huge liquified natural gas facility of Point Conception (California) on grounds sacred to Native people there. The Bureau of Land Management has resumed use of herbicide 2, 4–D on Oregon forests. (Information from an editorial in Friends of the Earth magazine. –Ed.)

MAGAZINE FOCUSES ON CIA ACTIVITIES

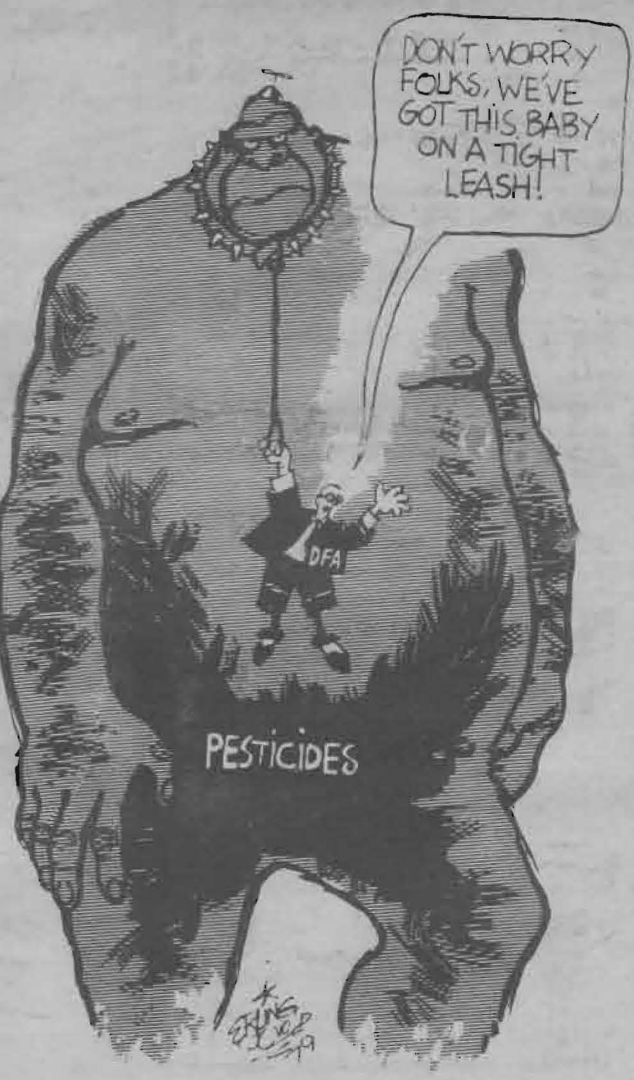
CovertAction Information Bulletin is a publication which is, it says, "dedicated to the defeat of all the CIA stands for." They run articles about CIA philosophy, recruitments, and operations in many parts of the world. Their 36–page bi–monthly publication is available from: Covert Action Information Bulletin, P.O. Box 50272, Washington, D.C. 20004 (202) 265–3904. $10.00 per year.

NAVY OCCUPATION OF VIEQUES ISLAND DRAWS OPPOSITION

Eighty percent of the Puerto Rican Island of Vieques is occupied by the U.S. Navy and is used primarily for bombing and gunnery practice. The Navy's occupation of the island has all but destroyed the native fishing industry there, and local people and their supporters have begun protesting the Navy's presence by organizing demonstrations. In August, Bishop Antulio Parrilla was placed on one year's probation, fined $500 and threatened with jail if he ever returned to the island. The charges of trespass arose out of a May 19 peaceful ecumenical service on Vieques. Twenty one people were arrested and face trial. In September, Judith Berkan, an attorney, received a maximum sentence of 6 months in jail and a $500 fine because she is a lawyer. Four other lawyers and two other clergymen are facing the same charges this autumn.

STERILITY INCREASING AMOUNG U.S. MALES?

A Florida State University researcher, Dr. Ralph Dougherty, has recently completed a study which links the presence of PCBs with decreased sperm count in human males. His report indicates that 23% of college–age males tested were found to be functionally sterile with sperm counts low enough to make fertilization highly unlikely. High levels of PCBs were found in their semen. This indicates a sharp increase over earlier studies. Other factors may have contributed to this statistic – stress, marijuana smoking – but Dr. Dougherty thought it reasonable to assume the PCBs contributed to the decline.


DON'T WORRY FOLKS, WE'VE GOT THIS BABY ON A TIGHT LEASH!
DFA
PESTICIDES

"THE INDIAN LAWYER'S WELFARE ACT"?

The *Los Angeles Times* headlined a recent story, "Lawyers are Winning the New Indian War." The substance of the story was that the much–publicized efforts of Indian tribes to win back huge tracts of land in the Black Hills, Maine, New York and elsewhere had brought little result other than to enrich non–Indian claims lawyers. The Indian Law Resource Center in Washington, D.C. estimated that these lawyers had netted some $60 million in fees for their roles in "extinguishing" land claims through the Indian Claims Commission. The *Times* said the claims law had been given the epithet "The Indian Lawyers Welfare Act." (From Vince Lovett's New Notes.)

CHARGES AGAINST ONONDAGA PEOPLE DISMISSED

The Onondage County (N.Y.) district attorney has asked a county judge to dismiss felony charges against six Onondaga Indians who were charged in 1974 in incidents arising out of the eviction of non–Indians from the reservation under the authority of the Onondaga Chief's Council. The move for dismissal came after county officials reached an agreement with the Onondaga Chief's Council wherein the county substantially agreed to follow the procedures set forth in the Canandaigua Treaty of 1794 with the Six Nations in a murder investigation. The actions of the district attorney's office and the sheriff's department in cooperating with the Onondage Nation resulted in an investigation which was satisfactory to the county and to the Onondagas, apparently illustrating (once again) that things turn out better when treaty stipulations are followed and peoples' sovereign rights are recognized.

COMPUTER BLAMED FOR POWER FAILURE IN SEVEN STATES

This fall, a computer got its wires crossed and caused gates to close at the Grand Coulee Dam in eastern Washington, cutting off the water which turns the power–generating turbines and causing a loss of 800 megawatts of power. The power shortage caused temporary blackouts in eastern Washington, Oregon, Idaho, Colorado, Montana, Utah and Arizona. At last report, technicians were still trying to find out what went wrong.

TED MEANS RELEASED FROM PRISON

AIM leader Ted Means (brother of Russell Means) has been released from South Dakota State prison and his conviction set aside on the order of federal Judge Fred Nichol. Means had been convicted on charges of riot and assault which arose out of an incident in 1974 in a Sioux Falls South Dakota courtroom when riot police attacked a group of Indians. The Indians were there pressing for stiffer charges for the white killer of Wesley Bad Heart Bull, and had refused to stand when Judge Joseph Bottums entered the courtroom. In the order realing Means, Judge Nichol stated: ". . . there was evidence to show that the Sioux Falls Tactical Squad unexpectedly ran into the courtroom with riot batons, metal knuckles, sidearms and Mace. . . and that the Tactical Squad members were the first to use any acts of violence in the courtroom." Means had argued in his defense that he had acted in self–defense and in defense of others. Ruling that the trial judge had failed to instruct the jury properly, the federal judge ordered Means released and his conviction set aside.

Children's Notes

A "DIFFERENT" WAY TO LOOK AT "SCHOOL"

In this issue we would like to tell you about a school that is different from the public schools. It is different because it is run by the parents and because the schools purpose if to make sure that the Seneca children learn to be Senecas'. It is located on the Cattaragus Indian Reservation in New York State, just south of Buffalo, New York. We spent two days and one evening at the the school to see what it is all about.

This is the second year of their school which is called: OGWAHOWAYKAH HENODEYSTAH, which means roughly "where you learn the Way of the Real People," the students at the school say it this way: "THEY ARE LEARNING THE INDIAN WAY." Now, the kids aren't learning just any old "indian Way."

They are learning the SENECA WAY. That's what makes this school so important. There are many programs and school that teach the "Indian Way" but they don't understand that you can't teach the "Indian Way" because that just doesn't exist. What DOES exist is the Seneca Way, Mohawk Way, Oneida Way, Winnebago Way, Lakota Way, Hopi Way, Navajo Way, Stockbridge Way, Ojibway Way, Ute Way, Menominee Way, and so forth. Each Native Nation has certain ways of behavior that they expect from their young people. Each Native Nation has certain, specific beliefs and ways of seeing the world which they teach their young people so that those specific ways of doing things will continue. This is what is called culture. So many programs think that if the students do some beadwork or dancing every month that they are doing the "indian Way." - but it is not, because each Native Nation has specific ways.

In the Seneca School there was a happy, family feeling. There were pre-school children being held by the older students. I was surprised to see six parents at the school all day and more parents came for part of the day and helped. I wondered, "Why are so many parents at the school?" Later that day, we met with the parents for an interview (see article on page 9) and I began to understand. These parents were making their childrens' education a WAY OF LIFE FOR THE ENTIRE FAMILY! That means parents and children went to school and worked together, and the parents come to school everyday, not just once in a while, but every single day! These parents discussed the fact that calling this a "school" was not really comfortable because what they do everyday is so very much more than any public school can do.

Students at OGWAHOWAYKAH HENODEYSTAH learn the Seneca language, Seneca ways of behavior and they participate in the ceremonies at the Longhouse. Two certified teachers come to the school two days a week for academic classes such as reading, writing, science, history and so forth. Students take field trips to the big city library in Buffalo and are learning to use a big city library to find information.

The school started last year and since there was no building school was held in each of the students homes. This year they have a small building for classes but some classes are still held in homes. There are 17 students ranging from pre-school to age 17. The school has no funding and exists by community fund-raising to pay the teachers. This is another way that the school has become a Way of Life for the families. Each family helps prepare a monthly meal and they sell tickets for the meal to earn money for the school. They hold raffles, sell Akwesasne Notes newspapers and calendars and people make donations to the school. Each family pays tuition for their students, provides transportation, provides lunches, helps with community fund-raising and is at the school each day as much as possible. It is truly a family Way of Life!

The parents realize that the children are the ones who inherit the culture, who keep the culture going after they are gone. This is the cycle of all of the Creation. This is the Way of the Creation. All things work this way, even the four seasons of the year.

When a student who is interested in being a artist was asked if he was willing to make changes in the way he lives his life, the way he believes, to advance or make it in the artistic circles, he said, "No!".

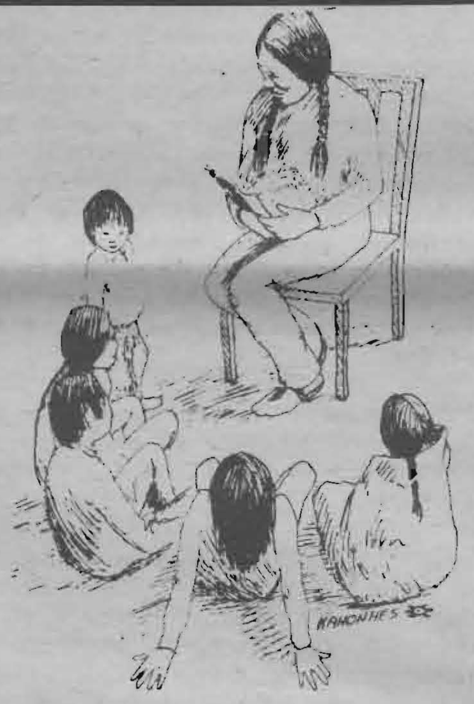
There's a strength, a beauty in this school.

The next time you go to a cultural program offered by your school, ask the teachers to provide you with information about your background whatever your Nation might be. True learning can begin when you learn about yourself as part of the Nation to which you belong. Ask, ask again and again and again. Someone will know the answers to your questions. Find how your people do their ceremonies, find out who speaks the language and learn from them. Learn what grows all around you in the Natural World. Ask, ask again and again!

QUIZ ON A "DIFFERENT WAY TO LOOK AT 'SCHOOL'"

1. The Cattaragus "school" is run by the -------.
2. OGWAHOWAYKAH HENODEYSTAH means:
3. The children are learning the ------- Way.
4. List WAYS of peoples that do exist: (Add your Nation, or tribe)
5. Each Native Nation has certain, specific ------- and ways of ------- the world that they teach their young people so the ------- will continue.
6. At the Cattaragus "school" parents are making their children's education a:
7. List the ways the entire family works together for their school:
8. The parents realize that the ------- are the ones who ------- the ------- and who keep the culture going after they are gone.
9. True ------- can begin when you learn about ------- as part of the ------- to which you belong.

WORD LIST: (except for numbers 2, 4, 6 and 7) Seneca, seeing, parents, Mohawk, culture, Oneida, children, Winnebago, Nation, inherit, beliefs, yourself, learning, culture.

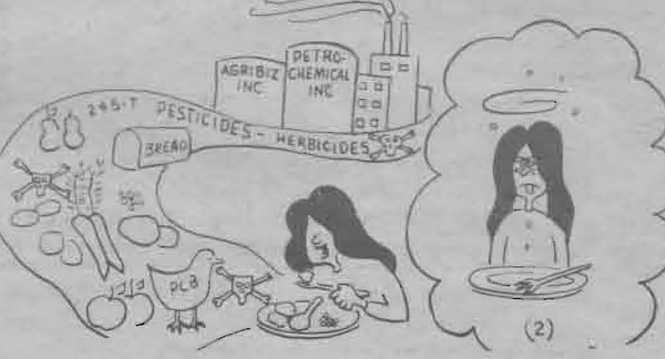


A QUIZ FROM OUR LAST ISSUE

Please read over the article on the last issue's childrens page, FOOD AND NUTRITION – TRADITIONAL WAY and then answer the following questions using the word list. (Except for numbers 5 and 7.) You will need another sheet of paper to write on as there is not enough space on this page.

1. The Natural World includes: (list 11 items)
2. Our ancestors knew how to -------, -------, -------, many plants for -------, and -------, which keeps us -------.
3. Our diet was made up of (include game, foods we grew, and foods that grow in the Natural World, or Nature)
4. You could say that our ancestors were ------- in the ------- World because they knew how ------- works and grows food.
5. Tell me why the bears are hungry:
6. Before Europeans, Native people had the ------- health possible.
7. We had ---- diseases and could ------- from a wound very quickly.
8. We started to eat the European diet which was: (list 3 items)
9. Refined or processed food (such as white flour and white sugar) is defined as:
10. Soda or soft drinks is made up of ------- and ------- which is unhealthy for us.

WORD LIST: plant life,identify, game, scientists, best, heal, dairy products, refined white sugar, water, food, berries, strawberried, Natural, refined breads, chemicals, nuts, corn, healthy, wild rice, trees, preserve, human life, animals, gather, sunflowers, onions, sky, moon, fish, sun, beans, blueberries, wind, medicine, squash, nuts, rosehips, pumpkins.



VOICES FROM THE CHILDREN

I really like the school I am going to.... the school is different from any other school. We learn the Seneca culture and plus the academic classes that are required if we are to survive in todays world. The thing I like to do in the school is the culture part, anything to do with the Longhouse. The Longhouse come first in the whole school that is what the school is all about. We learn our language and other aspects of the culture. We want to learn the Longhouse way and to gain some knowledge of what we are on the earth for. We were put on the earth by the Creator. He put us here to do a job and he set our lives for us. We follow his way that he gave to us, we follow the cycles in which we live. That is what the school is trying to teach us about the way we are supposed to be

by Lance, age 17.

Well I think its ace because its a good feeling to be learning from the old people. Our school is a sovereign group of people. It's based on the Lonhouse Ways. We're of one mind. We're like one big family. We help each other in what we do. The little ones see and learn what we teach them and have the good feeling of the Longhouse, also. We soon hope to take up the Indian Ways when the elders can't.

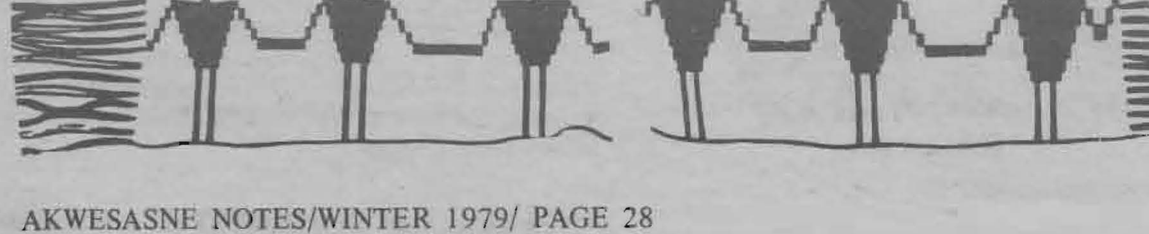
By Kelley, age 13

When I go to the Longhouse I have to be quiet, so the man can talk, so I wouldn't interrupt him. I am a Deer clan and there are not many left. I have to learn.

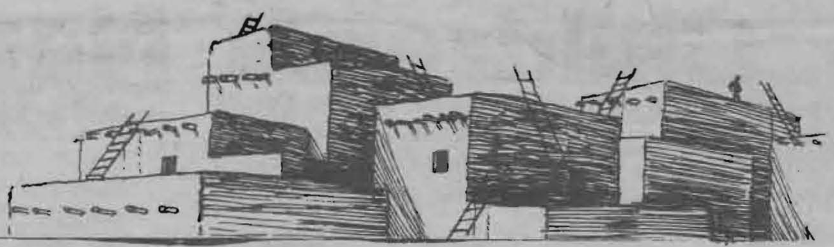
by Sheri, age 9

I feel like I am learning.

by Josette



The Erosion Of The Hopi Land Rights



1936-1943: THE DECLINE AND FALL OF THE HOPI TRIBAL COUNCIL

The Hopi Constitution was ostensibly designed to maintain the traditional leadership of the Kikmongwis, the chief religious leaders of each village. At least this was the argument LaFarge had used to manipulate and cajole Hopis to vote for the Consitution. In drafting the Constitution, Oliver LaFarge was fully aware that *no* constitution would be acceptable to the Hopis if the Kikmongwis' traditional authority was not recognized and maintained:

> *It will be remembered that the office of the Kikmongwi is written into the structure of the constitution, and furthermore it was clearly shown to me that the Hopis would never have accepted any form of organization which failed to do so.*

Were it not for all of the damaging information which has come to light about LaFarge's conscious efforts to undercut the power and authority of traditional Hopi leaders, a reading of the Constitution could easily convince one that LaFarge simply sought to assist the Hopis in developing a formalized federation of their villages which would preserve the traditional governments.

But the traditional leaders had not been satisfied and had opposed the Constitution. This opposition continued and grew in strength as it became clear that the progressives and so–called "Smarties" had come to new power through the Hopi Tribal Council. In responding to a protest which had been registered by the Kikmongwi of Oraibi about the undue progressive influence, Oliver LaFarge wrote a letter to a U.S. Senator in January 1937 which discounted the protest and which characterized the traditionals as an insignificant minority under the leadership of a man whom LaFarge dismissed out of hand as "not quite sane." (Again LaFarge was quick to slander Hopi leaders.) Other protests were made to Congress about fraud and deception in the 1936 Hopi election, but no remedial action was taken.

The failure of these protests was not fatal to the traditional Hopis, for a series of events beginning in 1936 precipitated a crisis within the Hopi community and Hopi Tribal Council which made Congressional intervention unnecessary at that time. That crisis began with the creation of an exclusive Hopi grazing district and ended a few years later with the total dissolution of the Hopi Tribal Council.

In 1936, the BIA issued a series of rulings which established Grazing District Number 6 as the sole and exclusive Hopi grazing area within the 1882 Hopi Reservation. The designation of District 6 was carried out under the authority of the Navajo BIA Agency, without any Hopi input into the decision–making process. It was part of a new BIA plan to handle the entire area of the Hopi and Navajo reservations as "one super land management district." The area included within District 6 included the principal Hopi villages and surrounding lands, but this amounted to only about one-third of the territory encompassed by the 1882 Hopi Reservation. Although there were repeated BIA assurances that this new boundary "shall not be construed in any way as fixing an official boundary" between the Hopi and Navajo peoples, the Hopis felt they were being fenced into an even smaller corner of their rightful land. There was great skepticism among all factions within the Hopi community, and many protested to Washington.

Commissioner John Collier made a personal visit to Hopi country in July 1938, in an effort to assuage the fears about further loss of Hopi land rights. As a transcript of that meeting makes clear, Collier was not able to appease even the "progressive" Hopis who were present.

While various members of the progressive Hopi faction took the view that the Hopi Tribal Council had the constitutional authority to act on Hopi-Navajo land disputes such as this, and to negotiate the problems created by the District 6 ruling, traditional Hopi leaders maintained that the subject of use and control of Hopi land remained principally a village matter, each village having its own historic land rights. In this respect, the traditional leaders' views were similar to the views of the Pueblos of the Rio Grande.

Some BIA officials and advisors agreed with the traditional Hopi viewpoint. They argued that even Hopis who had voted in favor of the Hopi Constitution in 1936 had been made to understand that village boundaries extending to the outer limits of traditional Hopi lands would remain under traditional village authority. In their opinion, Oliver LaFarge had been ignorant about this aspect of traditional Hopi land law.

These voices in support of the traditional Hopi position were silenced by higher-ranking BIA officials who insisted that "change to more tribal solidarity and cooperation should be worked for" even if it meant manipulating the laws and ignoring the opinions of the Hopis themselves.

The dissatisfaction of the traditional Hopis over these developments was expressed in a number of ways, including a complete boycott of the Hopi Tribal Council by several villages. As it became more and more apparent that the BIA was still making unilateral decisions (which ignored even the progressive Hopi Tribal Council), the boycott continued to grow. By early 1939, the Washington office of the BIA was drafting and considering proposed amendments to the Hopi Constitution to overcome the problem the Hopi Tribal Council was having in making a quorum at its meetings. Once such proposed amendment found in BIA files reads as follows:

> *No business shall be done unless at least a majority of the members from the villages, which have been participating in the Tribal Council for the electoral year, are present.*

Again it is clear that the BIA was prepared to foist on the Hopis a form of "democracy" and "majority rule" in which only the voices of "participating" that is, cooperative, Hopis need be heard. According to Washington, the opposition traditionals could lawfully be ignored even if they constituted a majority, just as Olive LaFarge had ignored them in 1936.

At the same time, the dispute over being confined to District 6 heated up as the United States government began building fences on the boundaries. The BIA continued to take the public position that these fences were not establishing any new Hopi reservation boundaries.

Dissatisfaction with the Hopi Tribal Council continued to grow. Even progressive villages such as the consolidated village of First Mesa sent only part of its allotted representation to the Council. When the 1940 Council was convened in late 1939, there were not enough certified councilmen present to constitute a bare quorum.

In early 1940, Oliver LaFarge wrote Commissioner John Collier a lengthy letter which supported Hopi Tribal Council authority over land issues such as the District 6 boundary question. LaFarge was attempting through this letter to bolster the authority and prestige of the Hopi Constitution and the limping Council which he had created.

Simultaneously, the BIA reversed its position and took steps to have District 6 declared an exclusive Hopi Reservation. It appears that those in power within the BIA were too impatient to wait for the Hopi Tribal Council to consolidate its authority and do the bidding of the BIA on this issue. By 1941 all official denials were forgotten and the BIA submitted to the Secretary of the Interior an order for his signature which would have officially turned District 6 into an exclusive Hopi Reservation, with the remainder of the 1882 Hopi Reservation designated as part of the Navajo Reservation, for the exclusive use of Navajos.

This plan was thwarted by a legal opinion rendered by the Solicitor of the Department of the Interior on February 12, 1941. The Solicitor ruled that the proposed division of the 1882 Hopi Reservation into exclusive Hopi and Navajo reservations would constitute an illegal creation of a new Indian reservation without the required Congressional approval. To get around his ruling (and the law), the Solicitor proposed that almost the same results could be arranged through manipulation of BIA grazing regulations. Hopi livestock permits could be issued for District 6 only, and Navajo livestock permits would be denied within District 6. Hopis or Navajos found residing on the wrong side of the District 6 boundaries could be strongly encouraged or forceably compelled to relocate on the other side. This segregation of Hopis from Navajos would be accomplished in the name of "grazing segregation" and "farming segregation."

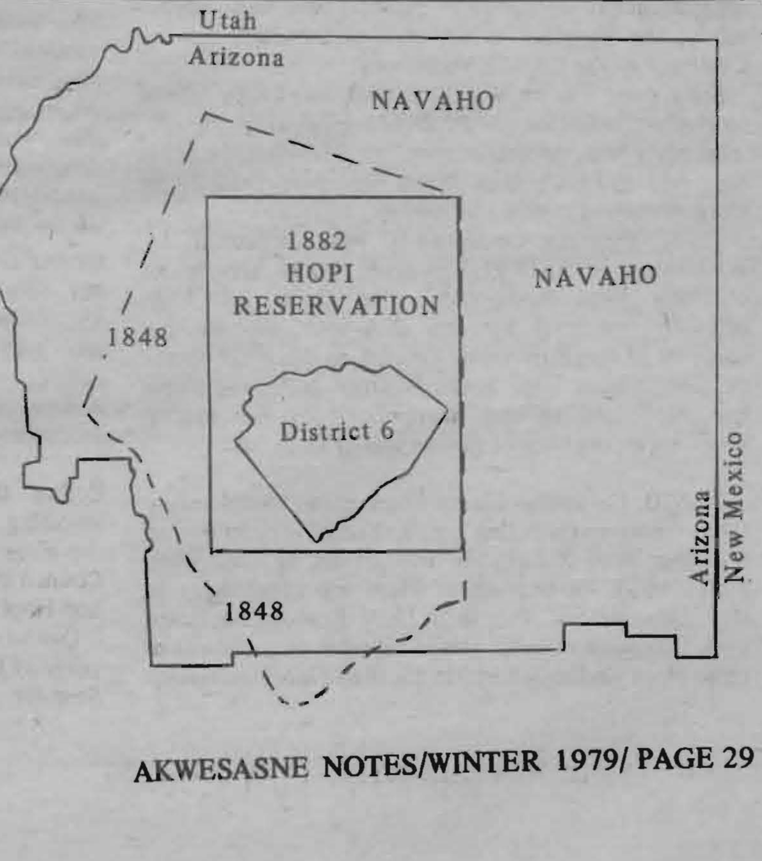
The Solicitor knew that the Hopi Tribal Council could not withstand the backlash it would receive from the

HOPI CONTINUED NEXT PAGE

This is the third part of a report prepared by the Indian Law Resource Center in Washington D.C. on the status of the Hopi claim to their ancestral lands.

decreasing Hopi land base

1848	4,655,000 acres (as the ICC sees it)
1882	2,464,000 acres
1937	595,000 acres (District 6)



HOPI CONTINUED

Hopi people if it formally agreed to such a plan, so he proposed a clever alternative which had the Council handing out these grazing permits without ever officially approving them. The Council could thereby be deemed to have given its approval through its participation:

> *A formal agreement or the signing of a document by the Hopi Tribal Council is not necessary if they are reluctant to take such positive action. If the tribal council will assist in the execution of the regulations through the issuance of permits within the Hopi (District 6) and in such other ways as may be appropriate, their acquiescence will be sufficiently demonstrated.*

The BIA had determined to resolve Hopi-Navajo disputes in the manner it thought best, and only the appearance of agreement by the Hopi Tribal Council would be required to give legitimacy to the government's efforts. The Hopi Tribal Council was designated as a tool to carry out a plan to which neither Hopis nor Navajos had agreed. It is important to recall that federal power to control the use of Hopi land has always been a naked arrogation of power without any legal foundation or authority and absolutely without the consent of the Hopis.

Even the Hopi Tribal Council had trouble swallowing these developments, and in late 1941 an exchange of questions and answers took place between the Council and Commissioner John Collier on various legal issues concerning Hopi land rights. Collier tried to assure the Council that their cooperation in the grazing program and in changes of the boundaries of District 6 would in no way affect their rights.

The Hopi Tribal Council which addressed these development in early 1942 was on its last leg. There was barely a pretense of legitimate representative government left in that body. The Christian–progressive minority had moved into control of the Council, and its behavior had been scandalous to the traditionals and to the over–whelming majority who saw the Council as a rubber stamp for the BIA. Otto Lomavitu, one of the leading progressives of Kyakatsmovi (New Oraibi)–—one of the progressives about whom Oliver LaFarge had made special note–had become chairman of the Council. A seminary–educated Christian, he was jailed for statutory rape in 1938 and left the Hopi scene.

In March 1942, Byron Adams, the Christian missionary (and most notorious "Smartie" named by Oliver LaFarge), was chairman of the Council. A resolution made when Adams was chairman in March 1942, by the Council, protested the District 6 developments, but it indicated that only seven Council members were present to sign it, less than a legal quorum. The next month, Commissioner Collier ordered that new District 6 boundaries be studied and proposed. Willard R. Centerwall, associate regional forester from Phoenix, carried out this study and made a report in July 1942 which recommended that approximately 100,000 acres be added to the 500,000 acres of the original District 6. This report carried the approval of the BIA superintendent of the Hopi Agency and, most importantly, the signature of approval of Byron P. Adams, Chairman of the Hopi Tribal Council.

Since there was no lawful authority for Byron Adams to give authorization on behalf of the Hopi government, it appears almost certain that the BIA used him, his signature, and his title to place a veneer of legitimacy on the government's otherwise lawless program.

When the new boundaries were approved by Washington in April 1943, District 6 had become an exclusive Hopi Reservation. The Hopis had been officially confined by the BIA–with the seeming approval of the Hopi Tribal Council–to this small corner of their historic land- holdings. Once again, the Hopis had been lied to and manipulated by the federal government, resulting in further loss of Hopi lands.

In 1970, the Indian Claims Commission would review these events and rule that the creation of District 6 as an exclusive Hopi Reservation was an act by the United States which "extinguished" Hopi aboriginal rights to the remainder of the 1882 Hopi Reservation, some 1,900,000 acres of land. The so-called extinguishment of these Hopi land rights within the 1882 Hopi Reservation and the 1882 extinguishment of 2,191,304 acres of Hopi land outside the 1882 Hopi Reservation were to later constitute the basis of the $5 million settlement proposed for Docket 196.

Having been complicit in the establishment of the exclusive Hopi Reservation of District 6, the Hopi Tribal Council lost the last remnant of support which it had claimed among the Hopi people. One historian sums up the decline of the Hopi Tribal Council in these words:

> *Uneducated because of years of neglect, totally unfamiliar with white procedures, and often greedy for whatever small recompense they could manage, the members were generally regarded as ruber–stamp stooges blindly obeying the dictates of the government's local Indian agent and the tribal lawyer appointed to handle their affairs.*

The resistance which the traditional Hopis had mounted during the election and the following years now bore fruit as the Hopi people's near–unanimous boycott of Hopi Tribal Council matters brought to an end that illegally imposed governmental structure. Having made this puppet Council dance to its tune until the Council had lost all semblance of legitimacy, the United States government also withdrew its recognition of the Hopi Tribal Council at this time. Commissioner John Collier visited Hopi country in 1944 in hopes of reviving the Council but his efforts were unsuccessful. From 1943 to 1955, the only Hopi government which existed in Hopi country was the traditional village government.

Olive LaFarge, the founding father of the Hopi Tribal Council, reflected on these development in a 1950 postscript to his diary:

> *For all my doubts and what should have been adequate perceptions, I failed entirely to foresee what actually happened, and which when it happened, seemed obvious and to be expected.*
>
> *The pattern of tribal council, decisive action, minority self–subordination, etc., simply did not suit them. Dan Kotchongva was brilliant in using the Council as a sounding board, and in making the maximum of irritation through it. Otto Lomavitu and his like talked too much. The Council stopped meeting, no new representatives were chosen, the Constitution went into abeyance.*
>
> *Above all, no village, I think, was prepared to surrender any part of its sovereignty, or to lay aside any of its quarrels with other villages.*

John Collier, in his memoirs, also looked back at the failure and death of the Hopi Tribal Council:

> *The work by LaFarge had and retains a particular interest. It took into account all of the institutional structures of the eleven Hopi villages or city-states. The Hopis adopted this constitution and it has never worked. The constitution conformed to the institutional structures of the Hopis, but it assumed (an unavoidable assumption, as of the date it was drawn up) that the Hopis would utilize the constitution with what may be termed an Occidental rationality. The constitution did not take into account, and even with the deeper knowledge of later time, could not take into account, and provided (sic) channels of expression for, the conscious and unconscious motivations and accompanying resistances of the several diverse Hopi societies.*

Collier thus claimed ignorance as the excuse for imposing the constitution and Hopi Tribal Council on the Hopi people, but he faced up to the fact that the Council had "never worked" because it was, in essence, a non-Hopi scheme of government.

One of Collier's chief assistants during the crucial early years of his IRA program was an anthropologist named Scudder Mekeel. From 1935 through 1937, Mekeel directed the Applied Anthropology unit of the BIA, served as Collier's personal representative, and supervised IRA campaigners such as Oliver LaFarge.

In a 1944 article entitled "An Appraisal of the Indian Reorganization Act," Mekeel looked back on the first ten years of Collier's administration. In that article Mekeel mades some surprising admissions about the colonialist nature of the IRA program, even comparing that program to the "indirect rule" which the British were then utilizing to control and maintain their far-flung colonial empire:

> *The Indian Reorganization Act. . . closely resembles the British policy of "indirect rule" in that the native political and social organization is strengthened by utilizing it for administrative purposes.*

After acknowledging the close structural similarity between the United States' IRA program and British colonial domination of subject peoples in Africa and Asia, Mekeel immediately argues that the policy behind the IRA was completely different from British colonial policy because the IRA had "humane" objectives, whereas the British sought to exploit their colonies. As will be demonstrated below, that supposed difference between United States domination and European colonialism fades into obscurity as United States interest in Hopi mineral resources grows in the following decades.

After candidly conceding that the IRA governments were established to serve as administrative conduits for United States policy, Mekeel discussed the disruption caused by the IRA in many communities. He especially singles out the dangers posed by the IRA to strong traditional Indian communities such as the Pueblos who, he noted, "without the Indian Reorganization Act, have real self-government."

"NO VILLAGE WAS PREPARED TO SURRENDER ANY PART OF ITS SOVEREIGNTY..."

> *Those tribes who can profit most by the Indian Reorganization Act and grasp its benefits are those most nearly assimilated. The same is true for individual within a tribe. Those individuals who are well along toward assimilation (therefore, many mixed–bloods) are the ones best able to understand the Act and its provisions as well as to carry on under a constitution or to make use of its loan provisions.*
>
> ....
>
> *Those groups of Indians who are still little affected by white culture, particularly non-English speaking full-bloods, have been mainly at a loss to understand the Indian Reorganization Act and the intentions behind it. . . . Mixed-blooded, and other better assimilated, tribesmen are better fitted to manipulate the political patterns involved in organization and to profit economically as well.*
>
> ....
>
> *There are several dangers in writing up (IRA) constitutions for groups that are still predominantly full–blood and that maintain their culture largely on traditional patterns. This is particularly true of the "functional" Pueblos. Such constitutions may hasten the breakdown of the political structure or may give the existing structure so much rigidity that it might survive to the disadvantage of the people it is supposed to serve.*

It seems that Mekeel had the Hopis on his mind when he wrote these warnings. However, the knowledge that imposition of IRA constitutions on Indian peoples such as the Hopis might foster the "break–down" of traditional self–government did not dissuade the United States from trying to re–impose the IRA on the Hopis in the years to come.

HOPI ARTICLE CONTINUED NEXT ISSUE

Akwesasne Notes Phone Tree

Most of our readers must by now be aware of the many grave situations now facing Indian Nations across North America.

We are living in a time when we are being forced to witness the final and most encompassing genocidal campaign ever waged against the right of Indian Peoples to their land, their history, their culture and their national sovereignty.

Real situations, real communities, real people, all across North America, Indian peoples are preparing themselves and are, in fact, in actual resistance to the various forces which would destroy them.

Recent events at Akwesasne (Mohawk Nation) have once again indicated the dangers which people must be prepared to face in order to protect their rights. On August 28th, 1979, a frontal police attack on a camp of traditional men, women and children was narrowly averted – an attack which would have undoubtedly resulted in severe losses of life.

It is our belief that this threatened armed assault here at Akwesasne was greatly impeded by the fact that many support groups and individual concerned citizens were willing to communicate their supportive positions to the various U.S. government agencies which were responsible for the final decision on this near attack.

AKWESASNE NOTES, being a major channel of communication for the Native Nations, is in a position to monitor such situations in the Indian Country.

We would like to offer our offices in an attempt to organize a largely word–of–mouth network into a efficient, rapid–response Emergency Phone Tree. A phone–tree which could be activated in cases of extreme danger to the various Native Peoples - the goal of which would be to make our collective concern be felt by the particular governmental bureaucracies holding (as it were) the gun in the unfortunately inevitable up–coming situations.

The organization of the Akwesasne Notes Phone Tree would be as follows:

Caller – a person volunteering to be a caller would be responsible for making one round of calls to the top several governmental officials, no more than five, in a particular pressing situation. This is for people who have limited time or access to a telephone.

Activator – a person volunteering to be an Activator would be responsible for activating five callers under his/her supervision. The 5 callers and their activator would be from within the same area code. The activator would also be responsible for keeping us up–to–date as to the five callers continuing participation.

Head Activator – a person volunteering to be a Head Activator would be responsible for activating ten activators and delivering, in a concise way, all the pertinent background information and names/phone numbers/addresses of officials to be contacted.

The Head Activators would be supplied the necessary initial information by Akwesasne Notes Staff.

Dynamo – a person volunteering to be a dynamo would need to be willing and able to, in an emergency situation, drop other work load and make repetitive rounds of calls.

A Dynamo would also be willing to act as an information conduit and to continually monitor a situation while it is occurring. In effect, the role would be one of a "peace–keeper." Obviously, this is for people with flexible schedules and substantial access to phone time.

People participating the Akwesasne Notes Emergency Phone Tree (ANEPT) would be listed by geographic regions. Organizations or groups which would like to make an effort such as this one collectively should contact Akwesasne Notes directly.

People from countries other than the U.S. are particularly encouraged to join this effort.

Persons belonging to our ANEPT will automatically be added to our mailing list

If you are interested in volunteering for ANEPT, please fill out and mail the coupon on this page. We will try to contact you by mail within four weeks.

I WOULD LIKE TO TAKE PART IN THE AKWESASNE NOTES EMERGENCY PHONE TREE

Name ______________________________

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CALLER   ACTIVATOR   HEAD ACTIVATOR   DYNAMO

MAIL TO: AKWESASNE NOTES, Via
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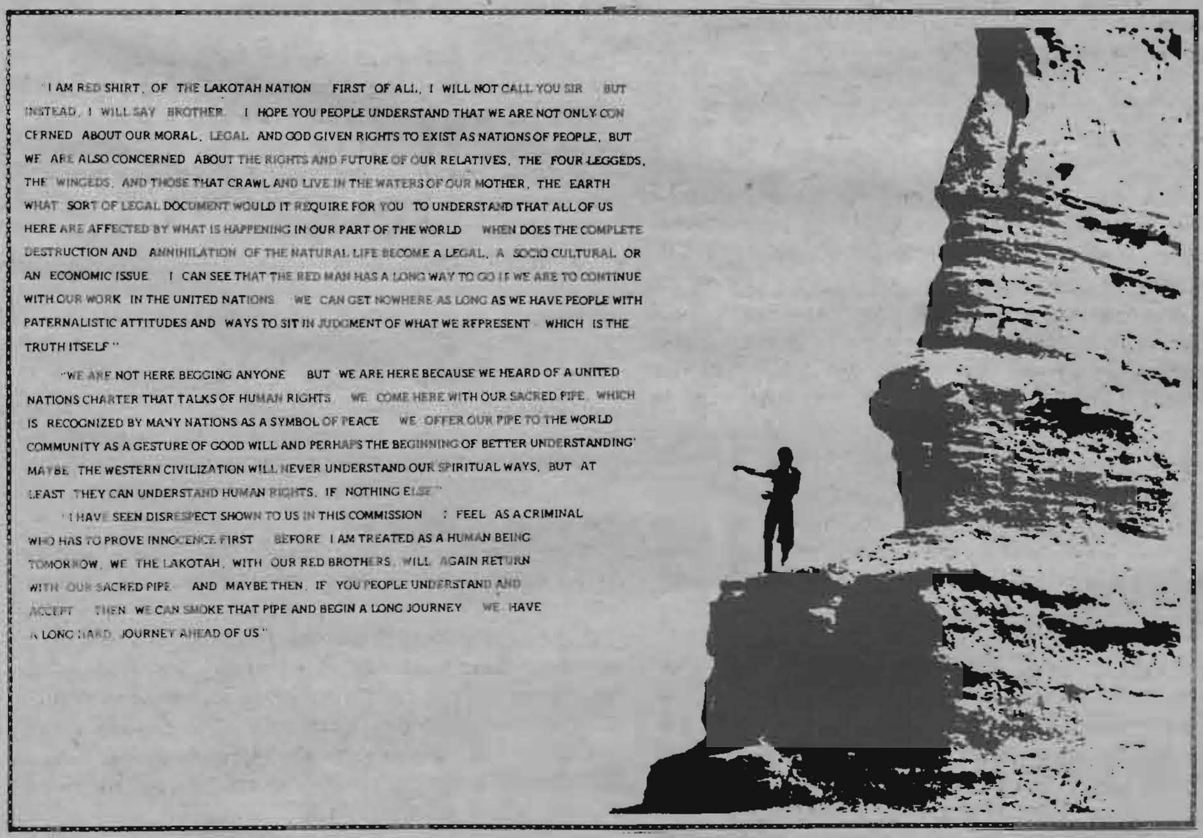
1980 Calendars, Datebooks Ready



"I AM RED SHIRT, OF THE LAKOTAH NATION. FIRST OF ALL, I WILL NOT CALL YOU SIR, BUT INSTEAD, I WILL SAY BROTHER. I HOPE YOU PEOPLE UNDERSTAND THAT WE ARE NOT ONLY CONCERNED ABOUT OUR MORAL, LEGAL AND GOD GIVEN RIGHTS TO EXIST AS NATIONS OF PEOPLE, BUT WE ARE ALSO CONCERNED ABOUT THE RIGHTS AND FUTURE OF OUR RELATIVES, THE FOUR LEGGEDS, THE WINGEDS, AND THOSE THAT CRAWL AND LIVE IN THE WATERS OF OUR MOTHER, THE EARTH. WHAT SORT OF LEGAL DOCUMENT WOULD IT REQUIRE FOR YOU TO UNDERSTAND THAT ALL OF US HERE ARE AFFECTED BY WHAT IS HAPPENING IN OUR PART OF THE WORLD. WHEN DOES THE COMPLETE DESTRUCTION AND ANNIHILATION OF THE NATURAL LIFE BECOME A LEGAL, A SOCIO CULTURAL OR AN ECONOMIC ISSUE. I CAN SEE THAT THE RED MAN HAS A LONG WAY TO GO IF WE ARE TO CONTINUE WITH OUR WORK IN THE UNITED NATIONS. WE CAN GET NOWHERE AS LONG AS WE HAVE PEOPLE WITH PATERNALISTIC ATTITUDES AND WAYS TO SIT IN JUDGMENT OF WHAT WE REPRESENT, WHICH IS THE TRUTH ITSELF."

"WE ARE NOT HERE BEGGING ANYONE, BUT WE ARE HERE BECAUSE WE HEARD OF A UNITED NATIONS CHARTER THAT TALKS OF HUMAN RIGHTS. WE COME HERE WITH OUR SACRED PIPE, WHICH IS RECOGNIZED BY MANY NATIONS AS A SYMBOL OF PEACE. WE OFFER OUR PIPE TO THE WORLD COMMUNITY AS A GESTURE OF GOOD WILL AND PERHAPS THE BEGINNING OF BETTER UNDERSTANDING. MAYBE THE WESTERN CIVILIZATION WILL NEVER UNDERSTAND OUR SPIRITUAL WAYS, BUT AT LEAST THEY CAN UNDERSTAND HUMAN RIGHTS, IF NOTHING ELSE."

"I HAVE SEEN DISRESPECT SHOWN TO US IN THIS COMMISSION. I FEEL AS A CRIMINAL WHO HAS TO PROVE INNOCENCE FIRST BEFORE I AM TREATED AS A HUMAN BEING. TOMORROW, WE THE LAKOTAH, WITH OUR RED BROTHERS, WILL AGAIN RETURN WITH OUR SACRED PIPE, AND MAYBE THEN, IF YOU PEOPLE UNDERSTAND AND ACCEPT, THEN WE CAN SMOKE THAT PIPE AND BEGIN A LONG JOURNEY. WE HAVE A LONG HARD JOURNEY AHEAD OF US."

We have been having a good year for production – so good in fact – that we are getting ahead of ourselves. During the first part of September we will have *two* calendars ready.

This year we are offering you our regular full size calendar AND a smaller personal date book. Both are dedicated to the past ten years of the Native struggle, and AKWESASNE NOTES.

Full size calendar – $3.00. Personal date book – $2.50 – If you order both the cost is – $5.00. Please call or write regarding wholesale information.

The large calendar is made up of a collection of the best *Akwesasne Notes* covers in the past ten years, with quotes from the oratory of our recent history.

Our pocket–size datebook turned out better than we had expected. The datebook features a calendar for each month with room to write reminders and it is full of illustrations from past issues along with thought provoking quotes.

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SILVER ARROWHEAD PENDANT

This is a handcrafted sterling silver arrowhead pendant that comes with an 18" silver chain. $14.50.

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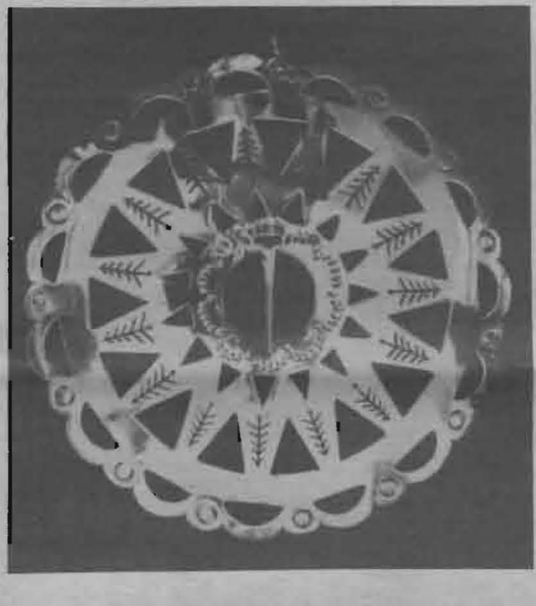

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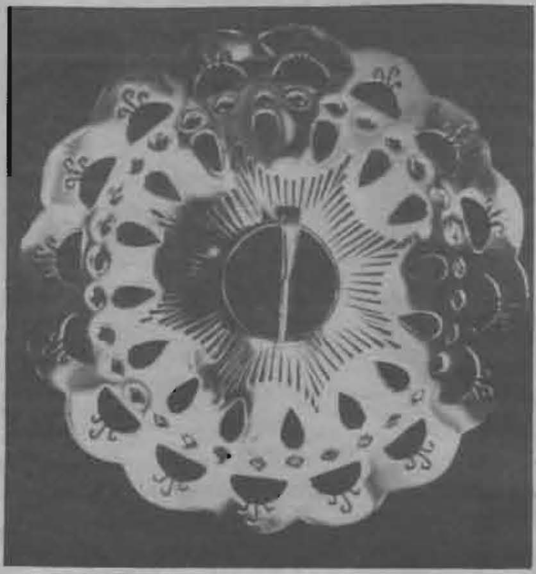

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These hand-made sterling silver broaches come in three sizes and can be worn with a chain as a pendant. Specify Iroquois Broach Style A or Iroquois Broach Style B.

Large (2 7/8" diameter) $120 each; Medium (2 1/8") $90 each; and Small $60 each.

NOTE TO CUSTOMERS: Because of the continuous fluctuation in silver prices, these prices will be in effect only until November 15, 1979. We will try our best to keep the prices of Indian jewelry down, but the price of silver has skyrocketed.

VOICES FROM THE EARTH

Speaker's Bureau

Within the past year the efforts of the U.S. government and multinational corporations have intensified to remove Native Peoples from their lands, to open new areas up to large scale exploitation, and to end Native resistance.

* In the Southwest, the U.S. government is attempting to forcibly relocate over 6000 Hopi and Dine (Navajo) people from their home lands, and open the area to large scale uranium stripmining.

* The Missouri River Basin has been declared a "national sacrifice area" to be depleted of its mineral, timber, and water resources. The Indian Claims Commission is attempting to wipe out Native claims to the Black Hills, and stop the one main area of resistance to this exploitation.

* Since June, the Mohawk Nation has been in a state of siege to prevent the arrests of Mohawk spiritual and political leaders by New York State Police.

In an effort to bring about accurate and concise information on these struggles, the VOICES FROM THE EARTH – Speaker's Bureau – is contracting with individuals from the affected areas to be available to come and visit your community, group, campus, or organization. The honorarium for speakers is $600.00, plus travel and expenses. For scheduling contact either Mike Myers of Ed Benedict at 518–358–9531. Monies earned from speaking engagement go directly to the peoples, organizations, or nations being represented. VOICES FROM THE EARTH receives a 10% commission for acting as agent and organizer.

Speakers presently available are:

* Ateronhiatakon – War Chief of the Mohawk Nation, and community organizer;

* Skaroniati – member of the Mohawk Nation and an education specialist in bi–lingual programs;

* Tekanientarekwen – member of the Mohawk Nation, a community activist/worker;

* Sotsisowah – Editor of Akwesasne Notes;

* Segwalise – Associated Editor of Akwesasne Notes;

* Lee Lyons – a member of the Seneca Nation, assistant professor at the State University of New York at Buffaloj

* Bruce Elijah – Faithkeeper of the Oneida Nation.

Upon request we can have speakers available from the Dine (Navajo) Nation, Hopi Nation, Lakota (Sioux) Nation, Black Hills Alliance, and other nations and organizations.

SPECIAL SALE

OUR PUBS

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VOICES FROM WOUNDED KNEE
THE PEOPLE ARE STANDING UP

PAINTED TIPI 30

LOOK, A NATION IS COMING!

THREE SISTERS 7

"always remember - your fathers never sold this land"

SHRINE OF HYPOCRISY 24

THREE HORSEMEN 12

ZUNI GOVERNOR 5

POUNDMAKER, CREE NATION

POUNDMAKER 9

FLATHEAD CHIEF 19

WE REMEMBER
WOUNDED KNEE

WOUNDED KNEE 3

DAN KATCHONGVA 15

FIRE CARRIER 13

UNITY UNDER THE CREATION

UNITY UNDER CREATION 31

CIRCLE OF LIFE 25

"WE DECIDED THAT OUR INDIAN PEOPLE ARE MORE IMPORTANT TO US THAN LONG JAIL TERMS."

SHACKLED NATIVE 10

GRANDMA HUNTER 8

THE THINGS THAT ARE OURS 29

"Let us put our minds together and see what life we will make for our children."

SITTING BULL 6

OUR IDEAS 16

RUSH GATHERER 20

BEAR BELLY 21

WINTU WOMAN 23

GANIENKEH POSTER 14

...POSTERS...

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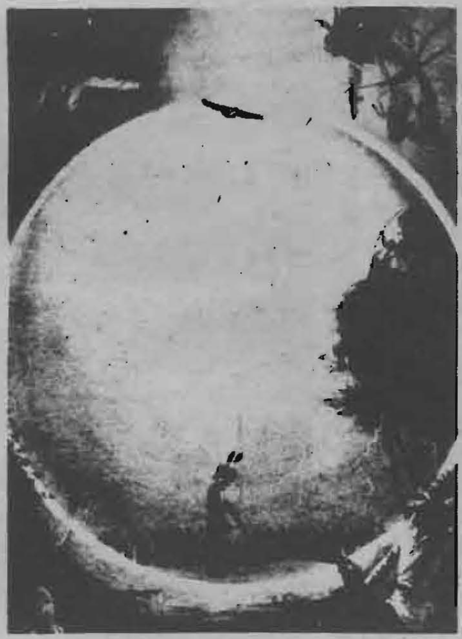

Oren Lyons Print $5.00

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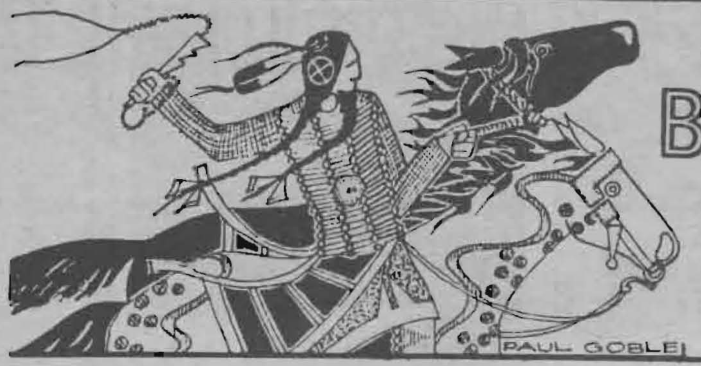

BOOKSBOOKS

ATTENTION PARENTS AND TEACHERS

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The MISHOMIS BOOKS are history–coloring books of the Ojibway Indians which are recommended for classroom and home use. "These stories come from Ojibway oral tradition as passed on to the author, Edward Benton Banai, by his grandfather." Beautifully illustrated by Joe Liles. Included at the end of each soft–cover booklet are activities which include: vocabulary page (bi–lingual, Ojibway and English), fill in the blanks, study questions, conversation practice (bi–lingual), and definitions. The following MISHOMIS BOOKS can be ordered from: INDIAN COUNTRY PRESS, 677 BLAIR ST., ST. Paul, MINNESOTA 55104:

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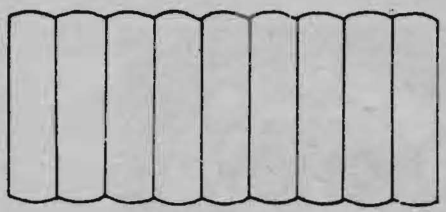

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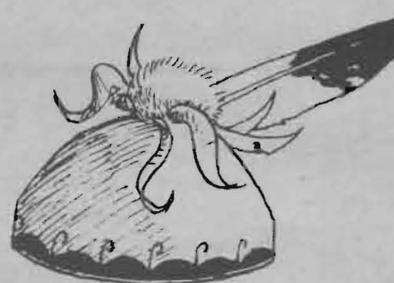

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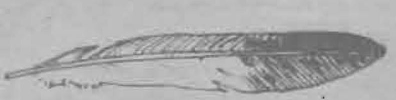

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Philosophy of Akwesasne Notes

AKWESASNE NOTES is more than a newspaper of Native affairs. It is an effort to call to the attention of people all over the world the problems which are faced by human beings everywhere. It is also an attempt to draw the attention of people to some of the possible answers to these problems.

To these ends, we are dedicated to a program to alert people to the social injustices suffered by the Native peoples of the Western Hemisphere. We think our work is unique because we do not view the Native people as simply another minority group which is having problems assimilating into the mainstream.

We believe that the Native people are representatives of the Natural World. They are the human representatives of the Natural World in ways that some people have difficulty understanding. They represent a unique vestige of human life. Some people would say that they are the survivors of the Pleistocene, the period of time when the foundations of human cultures were formed. That vestige of human life is in great danger in these times, and the process of understanding the nature of that danger should be of primary importance to all peoples.

The Native cultures represent the evolution of the human species. This is a profound statement, and one which needs considerable explanation, but we feel it is an important concept. The Native cultures represent the evolution of Mankind because they represent what remains of the longest period of cultural development in human history. All else is relatively new – tracing its history no further, in any real sense, than 10,000 years. But the Native cultures are very ancient, and they contain all the skills of survival that humans have been able to accumulate over eons of time.

We have a very complex message that we are trying to impart to the world. Some people see our work as a new kind of romantic ecology, while others would like to see our work as simply the statements of an oppressed minority. But we don't see our work in either of these terms. The concerns that we express are concerns which should be of paramount importance to all peoples, Native and non–Native alike. The message which we try to impart involves not only a cultural perspective, but also one which will begin to impart concepts which will help people to gain some sense of a solution to the problems of our species.

Humankind has been inhabiting this planet for a very long time. Homo sapiens has evolved differently from other species which inhabit the earth. We are all aware of this, and yet Western culture often seems to obscure that fact. Homo sapiens is the only species on this planet which has failed utterly to physiologically adapt to the environments in which he lives. Other creatures, be they bears or birds, have adapted physiologically to their environment, or they have become migratory, leaving hostile climates during certain periods of the year. But Man has had to learn to survive virtually completely on the basis of culture. Culture is a learned means of survival. Where the bear grows a fur coat, Man must learn to make warm clothing. Where the woodchuck hibernates in a den, Man must learn to build a warm shelter. In fact, all of the potential for survival involves learning to survive.

Our species has not learned those skills perfectly, however. Beginning with the close of the last great Ice Age, humans have experienced several great revolutions in culture. These cultural revolutions have included agriculture, animal domestication, metallurgy, the dynamo, and others. These technologies have greatly altered human life. Western society has seen changes, from cultures of hunters and gatherers (the forefathers of us all,) to tribal agriculturalists and eventually, to the enormously sophisticated civilizations of today. People in the West have long been taught that these have all been progressive, positive changes which have and will continue to benefit Mankind.

Many of these changes, however, have wrought profoundly negative effects. As different cultures came to master new technologies, ranging from smelting of metals to the utilization of the atom, it began to appear to many people that new dangers had arisen. Thousands of years ago, human problems could be expressed in terms of survival – how to get enough food to eat, how to keep warm, where to find water, and so forth. Human cultures evolved around exactly those questions. It is arguable that all human cultures are complex systems of learned survival techniques.

But today, following several thousands of years of Western development of technology, the questions are changing somewhat. We have developed ways of procuring food, but the food we have available to us is sometimes laden with dangerous chemicals and is often lacking in the nutrients which were to be found in foods which occur in Nature. We have ready access to water, but the water we can get is often less than pure, and there is a question about whether there is enough water in the world for the kinds of technologies we are now using. We can keep warm, but there is a question about how we will continue to keep warm in northern climates when the fossil fuels we use become too scarce and too difficult to obtain.

There are many other problems. Now that nuclear technology has been developed which might provide some energy, what is to be done with the deadly wastes which that technology produces? Now that food production has been mechanized from the seed to the table, how can people insure themselves that they are really getting an adequate diet?And how do we now deal with the social injustices which the worldwide spread of new technologies has brought?When people in New York drink their morning coffee, they are supporting a system which uses land needed for food production in Latin America, and the people there go hungry. When a person in Los Angeles turns on a light switch, he's using electricity produced from coal and water taken from Native lands in Arizona. For each "advance" in technology, there has been a correlating social injustice perpetrated on a people somewhere, so it seems.

Native people are, of course, the victims of most of the advances in technology. That statement is true whether we are speaking of physical destruction or cultural destruction. The fact of the matter is that technologies and social systems (and the two are inseparable,) have combined to threaten existence of many peoples and cultures throughout the world. While the West is only beginning to wake up to the problems which it has failed to solve in terms of the potential survival of peoples in even the industrialized countries, it continues to destroy Native peoples all over the world, bringing them "progress" in the form of dams, coffee plantations, banana plantations, access roads, mercury pollution, and the mass destruction of many species of fish and animal life through chemical contamination or simple avarice.

But if Native people are the victims, they are also, perhaps, the hope. The Native cultures still practice forms of conservation which are sorely needed, and the respect for Nature which defines Native cultural practices has attracted many non–Native people. The Native practices of social organization may, in the long run, prove to be the most significant process which those cultures have to teach other peoples – how to survive as social groups seems to be the most needed skill in these times. Native peoples possess some elements of that skill.

AKWESASNE NOTES supports the efforts of people to reinvestigate their own processes of survival – their culture. We are advocates of social justice processes which focus on reuniting people with their community and their land base, and which attempts to resist the exploitation of land, animals, water, and human beings. We try to encourage people to develop appropriate technologies – to rediscover the traditional ways of doing things which work and which do not destroy the earth or its people, and to create new technologies which will support the survival of peoples in the shadow of the tremendously destructive technologies. We encourage other people and peoples to become involved in this work. This is our sense of what is needed in these times.

A Basic Call
to
Consciousness

This book is a publication of AKWESASNE NOTES. It is a compilation of the three position papers of the Haudenosaunee (the Six Nations Iroquois Confederacy) and contains what is probably the most concise and comprehensive critique of Western Civilization through Native eyes in print. With a prologue from the editors of AKWESASNE NOTES. $2.00

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